

Workers, Oppressed Nations and People of the World,

# UNITE!



Marxist-Leninist  
Organizing Committee  
BOX 26457, S.F., CA 94126 USA

Vol 2, No. 3

June-July 1976

50¢

## BICENTENNIAL EDITORIAL

Comrades and fellow workers, as the U.S. proletariat stands at the end of 200 years of bourgeois dictatorship, there is only one real question before us, the question of state power. That is the question of putting a final and decisive end to the rule of the bourgeoisie, and beginning the glorious rule of the working class in this country. Our historic mission is to smash the existing bourgeois dictatorship, establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, move towards the establishment of socialism, and finally toward a classless communist society. This is the only path before us.

From the day of its birth, the proletariat in this country has engaged in its irreconcilable struggle with the bourgeoisie. As Karl Marx explained in the *COMMUNIST MANIFESTO*, "But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapon that brings death to itself, it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons--the modern working class, the proletarians." (p. 39, FLP edition)

For well over 200 years we have sweated, have been stripped of our culture, our history, our families and our lives, only winning in return a bare existence in the most materially rich society in the history of mankind. That is why now, after 200 years, we have ears for neither the bourgeois calls for liberty, equality, and democracy in general, nor for pompous speeches and proclamations. As Lenin stated, "less chatter about 'labor democracy', about 'liberty' and all such stuff, the class conscious workers and peasants of our day see through these pompous phrases of the bourgeois intellectuals and discern the trickery as easily as

a person of ordinary common sense and experience." (LW, Vol. 29, p. 428)

The common sense of genuine communism calls for plain, practical and simple demands--state power, control over the means of production, abolition of wage slavery and private property, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Every dollar extracted from the masses of the U.S.--indeed from the people of the world--is stained by blood and plunder, by the enormous oceans of blood that the working and exploited people of this country and the world over, have shed in the name of bourgeois "government or the people, by the people." As Marx said, "capitalism comes dripping from head to foot, from every pore, with blood and dirt." (CAPITAL, Vol. 1, p. 712)

From its very earliest days, the bourgeoisie of the U.S. spared no effort in its ruthless exploitation and oppression of the world's people in its drive to amass capital. In its westward expansion, the U.S. bourgeoisie used fire and sword to disperse and kill the Indian nations and peonize the Chicano peoples. For each African slave to reach the U.S., five died in passage or on the African continent. Over 400 years, more than 100 million Black people were slaughtered through the slave trade, upon which U.S. capitalism was built. This does not even count the millions more murdered or maimed in slave chains in the Black Belt South.

The first big step of aggression of U.S. imperialism was the 1898 Spanish-American War, the first war to redivide colonies in world history. Overnight, U.S. imperialism became

the overlord of the Western Hemisphere, soon to expand to Asia and the Pacific. The people of the world and of the U.S. will never forget the barbarous history of imperialist plunder, of which Indochina is only the latest chapter.

The people of the U.S. hate their slavish past, and even more so hate their slavish present. We are casting aside the

habits and ideas of bourgeois civilization. The history of the imperialist bourgeoisie is a story of a dying, decadent and moribund class. The history of the proletariat is of a rising, powerful and heroic class. This history is filled with sacrifice and revolutionary struggle. This is our history, which no bourgeois dictatorship can steal.

## ANGOLA!

The current situation in Angola continues to be one of great *instability* and *class warfare* between the Angolan people and their current oppressors, the Soviet social-imperialists. Soviet "personnel" and Cuban troops continue their colonial occupation of Angola. Soviet airforce detachments have been reported by the *New York Times* to be already stationed in Luanda. The People's Republic of Angola today is far from consolidating its rule over the majority of the Angolan people. Militarily, Unita has opened a "second anti-colonial front" against the Soviet and Cuban invaders, carrying out guerrilla actions against the new colonialists.

In the United States, the last several months have seen a heated struggle between revolutionary Marxism-Leninism and modern revisionism on the question of Angola. Everywhere all sorts of opportunist alliances have been formed to attack the Angolan people, mobilize support for Soviet social-imperialism and their Cuban lieutenants, and bolster the forces of modern revisionism internally within the United States.

From January, 1976 through March 27, 1976, the *Committee for Angolan Self-Determination* was formed in Oakland, California to try to carry out our proletarian internationalist duty to support the Angolan revolution and oppose both United States and Soviet social-imperialism. This committee enjoyed extremely widespread participation from almost every Marxist-Leninist organization, collective, and individuals in the area. It became a model for similar such efforts in other parts of the country.

The article which begins on page 8 of *UNITE!* seeks to sum up the important lessons learned in the work of the Committee for Angolan Self-Determination. Numerous

sharp and direct criticisms are presented in this summation, but nothing is stated here that was not presented publicly in the coalition itself.

The most important lesson learned was clearly that the struggle against imperialism and social-imperialism must go hand in hand with the struggle against opportunism in the course of the Committee for Angolan Self-Determination. Many forms and shades of opportunist political lines emerged which objectively, regardless of the intention of those who put them forward, had the effect of weakening and shattering our ability to adequately mobilize the progressive masses in support of the Angolan revolution, and therefore objectively aided and abetted the dirty work of the two superpowers in southern Africa in general, and Angola in particular.

The struggles which developed in the Committee for Angolan Self-Determination vividly reflect the implications in reality of two opposing lines on the international situation, two opposing lines on support for national liberation movements and many other crucial questions. The struggle against opportunism in the Committee for Angolan Self-Determination constituted an important aspect of the struggle to forge a genuine vanguard communist party, helped to develop and apply a correct political line on numerous questions, and served to further clarify the present alignment of forces in the communist movement.

LONG LIVE THE ANGOLAN  
REVOLUTION

OPPOSE AND DEFEAT BOTH  
SUPERPOWERS

BUILD A VANGUARD COMMUNIST  
PARTY

REVOLUTIONARY WING	P. 3
Puerto Rico	P. 6
On Party Program	P. 10
CUBA	P. 14
WOMAN QUESTION	P. 17



The people of the U S have a great revolutionary tradition in the war of liberation against British colonialism in the 18th century, and in the war against slavery in the 19th century. The toiling masses of the U S are preparing to strike their final blow through the seizure of state power, now, in the 20th century. This tradition is today upheld by all those who struggle against exploitation and oppression, by all those who seek to mobilize and lead the masses in the struggle for state power, to forge a vanguard party and unite the multi-national proletariat. This tradition is upheld today by those who support the dictatorship of the proletariat in every socialist country, who struggle to provide concrete material support to the national liberation struggles, who resolutely oppose U S and Soviet social-imperialism. This is the tradition of resistance and revolution against each and every manifestation of exploit-

## EDITORIALS

ation and oppression by the bourgeoisie.

Distorting and remoulding this historic past of the masses of the U S, the bourgeoisie is using the Bi-centennial to foster deeper false patriotism and great nation chauvinism. At the same time, this false sentiment is bred to serve as carrier for fascist ideology amongst the masses, in order to lay the basis for support of imperialist war.

Reality teaches us, and history confirms, that the workers in the U S will not be reconciled with the bourgeoisie. The entire history of the working class and oppressed nationalities in this country, and around the world, daily strengthens our conviction that this is so. We know that these class contradictions are sharp-

ening and will only continue to sharpen. As Chairman Mao has stated, "Irreconcilable domestic and international contradictions, like a volcano, menace U S imperialism every day. U S imperialism is sitting in a volcano." (MSW, Vol 4, p 172). This is the fireworks that the bourgeoisie will not be able to put out.

This is why on July 4th, we say that there is one, and only one question before us. This is the question of state power.

No matter what sacrifice, what hardship lies ahead, we stand confident, we stand our ground. We are preparing for the next big battle ahead. We are preparing not only for the seizure of state power, but also for socialist construction, through work in large scale industry, through strike struggles and through political organization--the forging of a vanguard communist party.

We are invincible, oppressed people the world over are invincible. The future belongs to the working class.

## Call for Party Program

With the 200th anniversary of the U S war of liberation against the British, when the proletariat of this country and other progressive strata spontaneously declared warfare on the bourgeoisie from one end of the country to the other, there is no more fitting work to take up on this day than the call for Marxist-Leninists to carry out joint theoretical and political work toward drafting a party program.

Today there is an urgent need for a draft party program, a program which will provide a guide for the consolidation and consistent activity of a vanguard communist party of a new type. It is toward the drafting of a party program that all work of Marxist-Leninists must be directed. It is the draft party program which more

than any other step, will advance the tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism. Work on the party program must be the focus of our central task of party building at this time, in order to unite Marxist-Leninists and win over the advanced systematically on the basis of political line.

On pages ten and eleven of UNITE', the MLOC puts forward a call for all those who seek to liberate this country from the hands of the bourgeoisie, to overthrow the bourgeois dictatorship and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to actively take up the task of drafting a party program as the basic ideological, political and organizational activity in this country--

as the expression of developing unity around political line.

The MLOC calls on all those who seek to unite and not to split, all those who seek to practice Marxism and not revisionism to actively take up the work of a draft party program now, to spare no sacrifice, to focus our work from all quarters on the draft party program and to lay the basic foundation for fusing the communist and workers movement in the course of opposing and defeating opportunism.

Comrades and friends, draft the program for a vanguard communist party in the United States!

Eternal glory to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

## Oppose Imperialist War

In all corners of the world, the conditions for both revolution and war are increasing. The growing contention of the two Superpowers over Europe in Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East, all require that the working class movement in this country lay a firm basis through its vanguard communist party, to prevent imperialist war through proletarian revolution.

We must not underestimate the danger of imperialist war. While the revolutionary surge of the world's people is the main current moving history forward today, recent events in places such as Lebanon, Angola, Azania, India, and elsewhere all serve to point out the feverish plans and preparations the two Superpowers are making for a new imperialist war. These plans and preparations must be consistently exposed and opposed. In the U S, the large masses of American people must be mobilized in a protracted, dedicated campaign against both Superpowers, while recognizing, on the one hand, that our principal proletarian internationalist task is the overthrow of U S Imperialism, yet that the U.S.S.R. is

today the greatest danger of a new imperialist war.

To arm and prepare the workers to oppose and prevent imperialist war, the MLOC will soon be issuing in pamphlet form a statement from the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, "THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR AND THE TASKS OF COMMUNISTS." We urge all friends and comrades to carefully study this document.

The MLOC calls upon all revolutionary and progressive strata to actively build support

in the multi-national working class for the struggles of the Azanian people against Apartheid, the struggles of the Lebanese and Palestinian peoples against both Superpowers and Zionism, the struggle of the Indian masses against Soviet social-imperialism, and the fascist Gandhi regime-- and the struggle of countries all over the world for independence, the struggle of nations for liberation, and the struggle of the world's people for revolution.

## To Our Readers

With this issue of UNITE' the MLOC begins its second year of existence. In this period the MLOC has laid its basic ideological, political and organizational foundation, and put forward a relatively correct line on the questions of party building, the Black national question, the international situation, the trade union question and the woman question.

As comrades notice, there are many significant changes in this issue of UNITE'. These are only beginnings. The changes in content and form of UNITE' reflect the growth and development of the organization, and the growing ability of the MLOC to actively take up the task of fusing the communist and workers movements.

In content, previous issues of UNITE' have basically ignored agitational material, contained little genuine comprehensive political exposure, and thus have not adequately trained the workers to "respond to all cases, without exception of tyranny, oppression, violence and abuse, no matter what class is affected." (Lenin, WHAT IS TO BE DONE). In short, UNITE' was really more a tool to analyse the class struggle than to lead it. We are still in the period of welding the core - uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced-- and, therefore, propaganda is our chief form of activity. But UNITE' must be not only a class conscious means of propaganda and agitation, but a practical leader of the masses in revolution.

In form, UNITE' was little more than a journal which was called a newspaper. We are taking steps to change this, such as shorter articles, regular feature pages, use of creative graphics, color, and other steps.

In both content and form, the MLOC plans further changes in UNITE' in the future, including a publication date frequent enough to make UNITE' an active, day-to-day weapon of propaganda and agitation. While UNITE' is far from an Iskra type newspaper, it is now much more actively moving in that direction.

The MLOC is grateful for and has been encouraged by the wide support we have enjoyed for UNITE'. The MLOC calls upon all comrades and friends, who support the ideological, political and organizational line of the MLOC, to intensify the distribution and financial support of UNITE' required to implement the improvements comrades have suggested.

The MLOC welcomes comrades and friends to submit material that has basic unity with the line advanced in this organ, or to raise principled criticism or differences, which we will air and respond to. In this way, UNITE' will increasingly become a tool of the large number of workers and communists who unite with the basic line that UNITE' advances.

## CONTENTS

Bicentennial Editorial	p.1	Party Program	p.10
Angola!	1 & 8	Cuba	12 & 14
Editorials	2	South Africa	13
Revolutionary Wing	3	Lebanon	14
Rubber workers	4	CPUSA	15
National Oppression		Korea	15
and Resistance	5	India	15
Lynching in the Black		Open Letter to the	
Belt South	5	Guardian	16
Statement on the PRSC	6	The Woman Question	17



# The "Wing"

## How Not To Unite Marxist-Leninists

### ACROBATICS OF THE "WING"

Comrades should carefully consider the implications of the following statements from PRRWO and RWL in the last few issues of PALANTE, the political organ of PRRWO

*"The Revolutionary Wing in-dicts menshivism and all Mensheviks as objective bourgeois agents the enemies of the working class, the mensheviks have long ago sold out the interest of the proletariat by aiding the state in their operations within the movement" (v 6, #6, p 1)*

*"Mensheviks today are the main aide of the bourgeois state apparatus, in particular of the intelligence community in this country, the CIA, the FBI, the NSA, Army & Navy intelligence, etc, in their attempt to wreck, split demoralize and slander genuine Bolsheviks" (ibid, p 2)*

*"The state depends primarily on the sham wing of our movement" (ibid, p 2)*

*"Many times they do this by setting up front organizations, like in the first period of party building where the U S organization under the leadership of the notorious gangster Ron Karenga, an old croney of the thoroughly bankrupt element, Amiri Baraka, served as a front, where the secret political police could at random provide external provocation measures to get the BPP" (ibid, p 2)*

Such slander must be seen as an act of provocation, as expressions of petty bourgeois infantilism of the worse kind. All of these statements and the entire articles they were drawn from have nothing to do with two-line struggle, drawing lines of demarcation or whatever banner might be raised for justification.

If this is in any way doubted, one need only read on to the characterization of organizations such as I Wor Kuen (IWK) and Resistencia Puertorriqueña as the "fruit flies of the movement" (ibid, p 3) or the manner in which PRRWO and RWL have named scores of their past cadre to the state through the pages of PALANTE and the BOLSHEVIK in the name of "purging our ranks of mensheviks." Such public exposures must be reserved only for known bourgeois agents, not cadre who have left an organization over two-line struggle. And then it is the obligation of the organization involved to document in detail this accusation, make a self-criticism as to the conditions, source and rectification of the line and practice which led to this occurrence, etc. -- Otherwise such public accusations without substantiation are no different in effect than the goals of the agents themselves, seeking to divide and split, seeking to discredit the communist movement in the eyes of the masses, breeding distrust of the working class for the communist movement and of their involvement with any organization which is carrying on activities against the state.

In the last few months the "revolutionary wing" (Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization - PRRWO, Revolutionary Workers League - RWL, and August Twenty-Ninth Movement - ATM), as well as Workers' Viewpoint Organization (WVO), have launched a series of wholesale accusations of other organizations without substantiation, slanders against individuals, large scale purges of their own organizations indicating that several of their own cadre were possibly paid agents, and violent confrontations with cadre of other organizations.

### ABSENCE OF TWO LINE STRUGGLE

The actions of the "wing" and WVO in recent months have constituted an ideological campaign to drive out the opposition, not a struggle over political line. All criticism is seen as attacks. While each have stated that "political line is the key link", the focus of the heated exchanges has not been a thorough struggle to understand \* how the vanguard party will actually be built, \* how the proletariat will be united for socialist revolution, \* how the right of self-determination for the Black Nation will be fought for, \* how the trade unions will be won over to the side of the proletariat, \* how the labor aristocracy will be driven out of the trade unions, \* or how the proletariat will be mobilized against the threats of imperialist war.

Instead, what we have heard is a lot of heat over the questions of who is, and who is not a genuine "Bolshevik".

- Last December at a Black Women's United Front meeting in New York, RWL and WVO actively sought to destroy the gathering. Neither RWL nor WVO had participated in the BWUF prior to this, but attempted to utilize the meeting for their own ends. The result was that workshops were disrupted and some older Black women left the meeting demoralized because of the disruptive behavior of RWL and WVO.

- In Atlanta, in March, the "wing" had a forum. It was called in the name of PRRWO, RWL, and ATM. Neither ATM nor PRRWO showed up. RWL launched a tirade against the OL which prevented independent forces in the meeting - of which there were very few - from asking questions or participating in discussion. RWL would only call upon their own cadre, brought in from out of town.

- In New York and Boston, several forums have been held recently by the "revolutionary wing" or WVO which have been nothing more than yelling and screaming matches, in which all manner of filthy and abusive language was used.

- In San Francisco in June, WVO and RWL again conducted a yelling crusade against each other in which a fight was narrowly missed, each organization provoking the other. Not able to settle their differences politically, each organization had to resort to violent intimidation.

This has been the pattern around the country, where forums have degenerated into shouting and screaming matches. Mass mobilizations have been turned into violent confrontations. Cadres of various organizations have been intimidated. Ex-cadre of PRRWO have been attacked on the street and put into the hospital.

The MLOC condemns such allegations against Ron Karenga, or the unprincipled comments regarding Amiri Baraka. PRRWO and RWL's referral to people as "gangsters" or paid bourgeois agents, without support or substantiation are anti-proletarian, national chauvinist and run counter to the interests of the revolution. The FBI, itself, in Senate testimony explained that they were responsible for promoting the conflict between the Black Panther Party and U S organization, how they framed Ron Karenga, and carried out other such sabotage of the movement. At the time, almost all of the Left accepted or promoted the attempted destruction of the BPP and US.

### A DEFINITE PETTY BOURGEOIS INFANTILE TREND

In this presentation we have only focused on the recent actions of the "revolutionary wing" and WVO. We have not sought to make a full presentation on the origins, development and present state of the wing, nor on the various lines of the organizations involved - PRRWO, RWL, ATM or WVO. However, the recent actions which we have described can be summed up as representing a definite political trend at this time, a petty bourgeois "left" infantile disorder.

Ideologically The view of the "wing" and WVO that they, and they alone, are the party cadre, the Bolshevik cadre, the only genuine combatants against opportunism, clearly reveals the subjective, formalistic and doctrinaire stand of these organizations.

The comrades from Resistencia Puertorriqueña in Vol 5, #5, of their organ Resistencia, have pointed out the tendency of the "wing" to see things in a one-sided, subjective manner. "They have a 'left' opportunist line characterized by their 'only' only party building, only propaganda (rejecting agitation), only line struggle (discarding all other forms of struggle), only political line (ideology and organization are not important for them), only the advanced (it is incorrect to pay any attention to the intermediate or attempt to raise the general level of consciousness of the masses according to them)", etc.

In assessing this stand, we are guided by the comments made by the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, in summing up a left infantile line held by comrades in China at the time.

*"Well, comrades, is this just ultra revolutionary high voltage subjectivism of a petty bourgeois gone wild -- or what? I do not know what it is subjectively, but I know perfectly well what would have been the objective meaning of such action in practice" (Minutes of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International, German Edition, vol II, p 24)*

Politically The "wing" completely misunderstands the tasks of the revolution and the relations between classes. Party building is the central task, but not the only task, as they say. Comrades who oppose the line of the "wing" are not all paid agents, not all "Mensheviks". The "wing" belittles in effect the importance of developing political line in this period and wages very little struggle over political line. For the PRRWO and RWL all contradictions are antagonistic. Their all-struggle line has led the RWL, for example, to try and abolish African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC) as a mass organization and objectively led the ALSC to conciliate with modern revisionism on the question of Angola and Azania, stripping ALSC of any will or ability to mobilize the masses.

Organizationally There can be no doubt but that the "wing" suffers from extreme sectarianism. Internally, the answer to all and every difference is purge, purge, purge. All comrades who show any doubt, raise any criticism, show any disagreement or dissatisfaction about the "Bolshevik" line, are labeled right opportunists, "Mensheviks", or even paid bourgeois agents. This is clearly the line of "relentless struggles" and "merciless blows".

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it should be obvious that this is not a comprehensive analysis or criticism of the "revolutionary wing", nor is it an overall evaluation of the lines of any of the organizations composing the "wing".

At the same time, the MLOC considers it an obligation to oppose the stand, strategy, tactics and organization of the "revolutionary wing" and WVO which has wrapped itself in the banner of the "Leninist core", the "quintessence of Marxism", or any other such holy cloth, to cover its unholy alliance.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out,

*"A fool's foolishness, even of a political character, may be excused once, but, when it is repeated many times over, then this is a line" (in ALBANIA TODAY, Nov-Dec 1975, p 33)*

Comrades and friends, these developments do not permit any proletarian to sit back and ignore what is happening. One must take a stand with the working class, against petty-bourgeois revolutionism. In the near future, we will be taking up this question in a fuller way.

To the "wing", regardless of the current membership, Marxist-Leninists and militant workers must respond. "first demonstrate your ability to lead the working class movement, first demonstrate your advanced theoretical qualities and your staunch Bolshevik discipline before the masses, not in empty forums, first show us your ability to work in a communist manner, show us your ability to work for the interests of the majority, or of organizing your work in an exemplary manner, show us this then hold out your hand for the honorable title 'Bolshevik'"







## STRUGGLE FOR THE MASSES

has proven no better. In 1973, in the name of union "democracy" and local autonomy, the bureaucracy of Local 5, representing Goodrich workers in Akron, gave up part of their wage demands

millwrights, electricians, and pipefitters, totalling about 7,000 at the three companies. The labor aristocrats to be found among these skilled workers have weakened and split the interests

industry represent a powerful force in production, particularly in regards to the pillar of U.S. economy, the auto industry. In order for the UAW rank and file to make full use of this power, for both the short and long range interests of the class, they must first sweep out the trash - the trade union bureaucrats and the labor aristocracy.

These traitors, after first doing all they can to limit workers' struggles to purely economic issues, then take their dirty work even further by conspiring against even these demands. These bourgeois agents refuse to even lead the working class to a bigger pay-check let alone the seizure of state power.

The recapture of the trade unions from the control of the bourgeoisie and its agents is a fundamental step in transforming the unions into revolutionary weapons for class struggle. The only way the rubber workers will win the present strike, and the only way that their struggles will move beyond the effects of exploitation to get at its cause, will be through the determined fight against the traitors within their own ranks and against the interests of the class they represent ★

### Rubber Workers Oppose Bureaucrats

On April 20, 70,000 rubber workers struck 47 plants of the Big Four rubber manufacturers - Firestone, Goodyear, Goodrich and Uniroyal. After three years of being tied to a sell-out contract, negotiated in 1973, rank and file rubber workers are mad, they are looking to make up for the erosion of their wages by inflation and to settle a contract which will at least return them to the same level as workers in the Auto industry. The union leadership, headed by Pete Bommarito, is anxious to impress the UAW rank and file with a new found militancy but events of the strike to date have shown that the UAW bureaucrats, on both the local and national levels, have remained true to their role as agents of the bourgeoisie.

The bureaucracy's militant posturing around the present strike is the result of some heavy rank and file pressure. After the 1973 negotiations, six out of the 15 union officials involved in the acceptance of the pace-setting sell-out contract were voted out of office by the workers of their locals. Last year, Bommarito himself was handed a stiff challenge to his presidency at the UAW national convention and had to attend as a non-voting delegate after a stinging vote of "no confidence" from his own local. The voices of dissent within the UAW have grown increasingly loud but the bureaucracy's response has been mere lip-service designed to appease the rank and file while offering no real threat to the capitalists of the rubber empire.

Bommarito has made a big show of the fact that he has initiated "for the first time in history" an international boycott of Big Four rubber goods as a means of pressuring the companies to negotiate but at every opportunity the tactics of the UAW bureaucrats have been to defuse the boycott weapon and turn it into a harmless gesture. After waiting until the strike was almost three weeks old Bommarito reluctantly implemented the boycott while assuring the rubber companies that "we also are concerned about the boycott" and insisting that its use was stalled as long as possible to "give the company every opportunity to lay out a meaningful offer on the table." (United Rubber Worker, May, 1976)

Even with the boycott implemented, its effect has been restrained. Although Bommarito claims the union's strike strategy is based on the understanding that the companies are pledged to mutual support and assistance during strikes, the boycott has purposely been limited to one company - Firestone.

Leadership on the local level

in response to a company plea of "higher productivity" and in doing so set a pattern which all the rest of the locals were forced to follow. During the present strike, similar treachery has threatened to pull the rug out from under current demands. On May 15, UAW locals representing workers at two General Tire plants refused to lead their members into the strike after settling a separate tentative agreement. On June 8, another 1,900 workers stayed on the job after Local 26 settled separately on the promise of receiving the equivalent of the agreement eventually reached with Goodyear. The response of the local leadership was "Our Executive Board decided that there was nothing left to strike over that our people would support."

Further weakening the efforts of striking workers has been a recent decision of a special convention called by the Executive Board of the UAW, which refused the strikers further strike support payments after the union's strike fund ran dry. The attitude of the Board members was that such funds simply aren't necessary and that the strikers can hold on without them.

The outcome of the rubber strike is important to the bourgeoisie in several ways. The rubber monopolists themselves have taken extensive measures in recent years to ensure their profits in time of crisis, including large scale abandonment of plant sites in Akron and other cities for areas of the South and South West. The extent to which the rubber companies have consciously moved to exploit the non-union labor of Blacks and Chicanos in these areas is indicative of the muscle they are willing to put behind their strike breaking efforts in the north.

To this end, the bourgeoisie, in addition to the trade union bureaucracy, have enlisted the aid of the labor aristocracy in the rubber industry. These labor aristocrats, many of whom have moved to break with the UAW in favor of the even more reactionary International Society of Skilled Trades (ISST), have pursued a brand of narrow craft unionism in opposition to the united, industry-wide organization of rubber workers as a whole. In doing so, these bourgeois agents have actively looked to widening the gap between themselves and the masses of workers by supporting the rubber companies' demand of a greater wage differential between skilled and unskilled.

The ISST claims that over 50% of skilled craftsmen at Firestone plants and 35% at Goodyear and Goodrich have signed pledge cards favoring the small craft union over the UAW. These skilled workers include welder mechanics,

of the whole and have applied pressure to the UAW bureaucracy to sacrifice the wages and benefits of the majority of workers for the sake of their own narrow interests. A similar situation in the UAW has recently resulted in ISST-backed workers being given veto power over contracts ratified by production workers and has greatly increased the power of the labor aristocracy among auto workers.

The strength of these reactionary forces arises from their relation to the bourgeois state - the bourgeoisie's class apparatus for violence. The ruling class will allow nothing, especially the democratic rights of workers, to interfere with its "recovery" from the present economic crisis. The bourgeoisie cannot allow the rubber workers to set a precedent for labor action in other sectors of the economy and is ready to use every means of violence and trickery to ensure that it doesn't. Workers in the rubber

### CONTRACTS

	UNION	EMPLOYER	WORKERS COVERED
June 27	IUE, UE, IBEW	General Electric	125,000
July 1	Hospital Employees (1199)	New York City	40,000
July 11	IUE, UE, IBEW	Westinghouse	60,000
Sept. 14	UAW	GM, FORD, AM, Chrysler	717,350
Sept. 30	UAW	International Harvester, Deere, Caterpillar	93,350
Dec. 1	IBEW	FCA	17,500

### The Struggle Against the LABOR ARISTOCRACY

"To those who would say that it is time to reform this organization, that it is time for the leaders to stop selling out the members of this organization, I say to them, 'go to hell'." (Frank Fitzsimmons at Teamsters International Convention, Las Vegas, June 1976)

"The officers of this Brotherhood want a better system than just reacting to crisis. The time has come for our government to know us and for us to know our government."

(The International Teamster, 1/75, p. 5)

"Is there really any doubt that policemen and firemen need money to buy bread for their families just as do professors and other folks? In reality, an officer's only reward, other than an occasional citation, is the prospect of advancement."

Yet, is it not reasonable to assume that a well-paid policeman or fireman, secure with a union contract, would have less personal worry and be better equipped to do a superlative job? Training? They've had that. Cash under a Teamster contract is a greater resuscitation of responsibility, spirit, dedication and effectiveness."

(The International Teamster, 4/76, inside cover)

### PIVOT OF OUR TACTICS in the Labor Movement





## National Oppression & RESISTANCE!

- \* Gary Tyler, charged with first degree murder in Louisiana
- \* Cheryl Todd and Dessie Woods, charged with theft and murder, respectively, in Georgia
- \* Tyrone Guyton, shot and killed in Emeryville, California
- \* Hurricane Carter, spent ten years in jail on framed on murder charges
- \* Jean-Louis Yvon, a Haitian beaten in Boston during the height of anti-busing violence in October 1975
- \* Theodore Landsmark, an attorney beaten by fascist white youth in Boston
- \* John Artis, held for ten years in connection with the same case as Hurricane Carter
- \* And on and on

Who are these people and what do they have in common? These are Black working people or their children, who have been jailed, beaten, and murdered for resisting the abuse of their nation and people, or simply for being Black. These children and adults are struggling for their democratic rights, in schooling, the right to self-protection, the right to live where they please, the right to go about their affairs without harassment. In this struggle they have been met with a brutal offensive by the bourgeois state, the police, fascist groups, and by the white ruling class and its chauvinist ideology. Gary Tyler, for example, resisted the physical abuse of his school mates by police, when he and his friends were searched and threatened for their lives following an accidental shooting of a young white student during a confrontation between busing opponents and Black youth in Destrehan, Louisiana. For his actions, Tyler was arrested and charged with "interfering with the law." Several hours later, in a second search of the school bus on which the Black teenagers had been sitting, the police "found" a .45 calibre automatic stuck in Tyler's seat. The charges against him were changed to first degree murder.

Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd were the victims of attempted rape by a white businessman, who

picked them up hitchhiking. Todd and Woods courageously fought back, and in the struggle the man was killed. For having defended themselves, Todd and Woods were arrested and convicted of theft and manslaughter respectively. Since then, Todd has been released on bail, but Dessie Woods is still being held in Georgia State Mental Hospital. The fury of the white ruling class is raining down on her, through beatings, sexual assault, drugging and isolation.

Todd and Woods case is very familiar to Black working women, who for centuries of slavery and semi-slavery have resisted rape and assault at the price of their lives. The resistance of Todd and Woods to the triple burden of working class, national and sexual oppression with which the bourgeoisie makes their lives unbearable is part of the working class struggle against the barbarism of capitalist exploitation and oppression. A blow at the Black Nation, its men and women, its families and culture, is an attack on the whole working class and will not be ignored.

Gary Tyler, Dessie Woods, Cheryl Todd and the thousands of other Black prisoners all over the country, and especially in the Black Belt South, are political prisoners under fascist administration. These people arrested for their heroic resistance to double and triple oppression, refuse to reconcile themselves with the wishes of their captors.

How will Black people be restored their rights? How can the ferocious attacks by the imperialists on their lives be stopped?

Attacks will not be stopped, and democratic rights only partially gained until the Black Nation has the right of self-determination, including the right to secede from the U.S. as a separate state, a right based on the control of the land of the Black Belt South.

Sometime in the future, Black people will take control of the land, destroy and rebuild the judicial system, state and social institutions of their nation, and decide for themselves its future.

relationship to the other nations of the world. In this struggle, the roots of the intolerable social and material privilege of the white ruling class in the South will literally be destroyed by force. All privileges and domination of the imperialist bourgeoisie over the Black Nation will cease only with proletarian revolution in the U.S. and seizure of state power by the working class.

This does not mean that we "wait until there is a proletarian revolution and then we will overcome national and sexual oppression." No, it does not mean this! It does mean that the white working class and Black Nation must be able to depend on each other for support in the struggle against their common oppressor. Just as the Black Nation cannot be completely free until the white ruling class is overthrown in the U.S., the multi-national working class cannot be liberated of its bondage to capital unless it actively takes up NOW the struggle against all oppression and exploitation. "Labor in the white skin cannot be free while in the black it is branded."

We must support immediately the struggles of the oppressed political prisoners to save their lives and to free themselves from the only slightly modified slavery of the Southern prison system. We call on all progressive and revolutionary peoples in the U.S. to support, with words as well as deeds, Gary Tyler, still on death row awaiting execution. We demand that the Ku Klux Klan and police harassment of his family be prevented. In addition, we urge support of Todd and Woods, the protest of their treatment, and the defense of the right of all Black women to protect themselves from attack and molestation. For all political prisoners, and especially those in the Black Belt South, we demand immediate release!

DEATH FOR LYNCHING!

UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION OF THE BLACK NATION, UP TO AND INCLUDING SECESSION

## LYNCHING IN BLACK BELT SOUTH

In 1932, Harry Haywood and Milton Howard wrote the article, *Lynching: A Weapon of National Oppression*. This pamphlet was written during the height of the Depression, when barbaric conditions in the Black Belt and northern ghettos were provoking stubborn resistance among Blacks to national oppression. In conjunction with the crisis of the Depression, and in response to this resistance, the Ku Klux Klan, vigilante groups and the state launched a wave of open terror and intimidation against Black people.

The current situation shows the U.S. and capitalist world in a deepening overall crisis. The similarity of the objective conditions and fascist terror in the Black Belt South makes Haywood and Howard's pamphlet as applicable today as it was in 1932. For this reason, the MLOC is reprinting the article in a three part series.

More than 300 persons stood by and looked on while the Negro was slowly burned to a crisp. A few women were scattered among the crowd of Arkansas planters.

Not once did the slaver beg for mercy despite the fact that he suffered one of the most horrible deaths imaginable. With the Negro chained to a log, members of the mob placed a small pile of leaves around his feet. Gasoline was then poured on the leaves and the carrying out of the death sentence was under way.

As the flames were eating away his abdomen, a member of the mob stepped forward and saturated the body with gasoline. It was then only a few minutes until the Negro had been reduced to ashes.

—Memphis Press, Jan. 27, 1931

This is how an eye witness described the lynching of Henry Lowry.

Who was Lowry? What was his crime? Henry Lowry was a Negro share cropper in Nodena, Arkansas. For two years he had been toiling steadily under the scorching sun. Yet for two years he had not received one cent of his rightful wages. The landlord had advanced him less and less food for his family. Already they were close to starvation.

He went to the landlord's house and demanded wages. The landlord at first looked at him queerly, as if he did not understand what he had heard. But when he understood that one of "his" share croppers was actually asking for his wages, he rose in insane fury, cursing and beating Lowry with his gun. Then he leveled his revolver at Lowry's head and fired, wounding him. Enraged at this dog like treatment, Lowry began to fight back. In the fight the landlord was killed.

As soon as this became known, the white landlords for miles around became obsessed with one idea—to torture and lynch this Negro share cropper, to murder him, so that not another Negro worker on the plantation, not one of their own starving tenants would dare to protest, as Lowry had done, against the brutal exploitation of the landlords.

To refuse to starve, to refuse to be robbed. These were the terrible "crimes" for which Lowry, Negro farm worker, was burned at the stake—lynched by the landlords and their henchmen. This is how the white ruling class attempts to subdue any opposition to its merciless exploitation of the Negro people.

### The Ruling Class Takes Its Toll

In their efforts to subdue the Negro workers and peasants, the ruling class has taken a terrible toll. Since 1882, the first year in which any attempt was made to gather statistics on lynching, over 4,000 Negroes have been either hanged, burned, or both. Of these over 75 were women, some of the victims were young girls less than 15 years of age.

Here are only a few recent cases.

George Johnson in May, 1930, accused his landlord of falsifying debt accounts. Struggling in self defense he killed the landlord. He was lynched, and his body was dragged through the Negro quarter and burned in front of a Negro church.

John Parker, unemployed and starving Negro worker of Conway, Arkansas, was accused of stealing some peaches. He was lynched by plantation owners, August, 1931.

Bill Fane was a Negro worker who refused to toil without pay. He was lynched by a mob of merchants and planters in September, 1931.

Will Jones and his family of five were shot down in cold blood by a landlord and his henchmen in October, 1931. The landlord said that in a dispute over wages, "Jones talked back."

Dave Tillis of Crockett, Texas, demanded an accounting from his landlord. He was seized and charged with "entering the bedroom of a white woman." He was lynched by his landlord and four neighboring landowners, April, 1932.

Every one of these Negro workers was murdered as a direct result of the class struggle as expressed in his demand for wages or better conditions from the white landlords who exploit the





# PRSC - From Conciliation to Outright Surrender

The following is an open letter to the Marxist-Leninist press from Marxist-Leninists for an Independent Puerto Rico (MLIP), a caucus within the San Francisco chapter of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee, (PRSC). The MLOC participates within MLIP.

## THE POLITICAL CHARACTER OF THE PRSC.

What is the political character of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee (PRSC)? Does it play a progressive role in the struggle to liberate Puerto Rico? Does it link this struggle effectively with the struggles of working people and national minorities in the United States? The view of Marxist-Leninists for an Independent Puerto Rico (MLIP) is that the PRSC has failed in the tasks that it set for itself, and that this failure is a direct result of PRSC's complete surrender to the line of modern revisionism and social-imperialism.

The Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee grew out of the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Committee which organized the Puerto Rican Solidarity Day Demonstration on October 27, 1974, in Madison Square Garden. The stated purpose of the PRSC is to build support for the independence of Puerto Rico and for the self-determination of the Puerto Rican people.

The organization is headed by a National Board and the Interim Committee which functions between National Board meetings. Supposedly, the National Board is the policy making body while the Interim Committee is supposed to execute that policy. In reality, the I.C. makes and sets whatever policy it so desires. The role of the chapters is entirely subordinate.

Our differences with the PRSC are differences of both outlook and political line. The following points represent the most fundamental differences which we have with the PRSC. In order to understand what the political views of the PRSC represent, it is necessary to analyze them in the context of the present international situation, and in terms of the national reality of both the U.S. and Puerto Rico. Only in this way can we understand how thorough is the PRSC's surrender to modern revisionism, U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

## THE HAVANA CONFERENCE

Since the PRSC has openly endorsed all the resolutions and actions that came from the "International Conference in Solidarity with Independence for Puerto Rico" held in Havana, Cuba, in September of 1975, it is important to understand what went on there.

In order to understand the significance of the Havana Conference, it is necessary to understand the role of the U.S.S.R. in organizing the conference.

Further, it is necessary to understand the role of Soviet economic and political penetration in Latin America.

The rapid growth of the U.S.S.R.'s role in the economy of Latin American countries is reflected on several levels. It is clear from its role in the United Nations that the Soviet Union is opposed to all the major moves by Latin American countries to gain greater economic self-reliance through the regulation of their raw materials. The U.S.S.R. has opposed the formation of all the major multi-lateral economic confederations such as O.P.E.C., the Andean Pact, the Economic System of Latin America (SELA) and the Latin American Energy Organization. In Panama, rather than supporting the just struggle of the Panamanian people to regain the canal, the Soviet Union has called for the "internationalization" of the canal. The call of many Latin American countries for an extension of the territorial waters to 200 miles to safeguard their fishing industry had met with fierce opposition in the U.N. by the U.S.S.R.

In its dealings with separate Latin American countries, the U.S.S.R. has also revealed its intentions. For the first time, in 1975, the U.S.S.R. sold heavy ground military hardware to Latin American countries. Its penetration into the national economies of Latin American countries has primarily taken the form of investment in joint construction in the public sector. In countries like Brazil, it has registered a huge trade deficit from year to year in order to make national economies of these countries dependent on the U.S.S.R.

Militarily, the U.S.S.R. also reveals its intentions. The Soviet Union has persistently refused to sign Additional Protocol II to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America. The Soviet Union has also escalated its military presence in the Western hemisphere. In September of 1974, the Soviet fleet made a show of force in the area by for the first time including the "Kresta Class II" missile-carrying cruiser. By the end of February of 1975, the Soviet Union had made its thirteenth cruise in the Caribbean Sea.

Why doesn't the U.S.S.R. support these efforts of Latin American countries to gain greater independence from the parasitic domination of U.S. imperialism? Clearly, it is because these efforts are linked to the policies of self-reliance and non-alignment which would thwart the U.S.S.R.'s goal of replacing U.S. imperialism in the saddle in Latin America. It is in this light that the policies arrived at by the Havana Conference take on ominous meaning.

The Havana Conference was organized at the initiative of the U.S.S.R. through its front, the World Peace Council and such other fronts as the Inter-

national Student Union, the World Press Federation and the World Women's Federation. All of these organizations had played a direct role in the destruction of the unity of the international communist movement. Their betrayal of the world revolution is openly documented (e.g. The Moscow World Congress of Women, 1963, "Speech and Statements by the Chinese Women's Delegation", reprinted by the August Twenty-Ninth Movement) and their cowardly role in attempting to isolate People's China and Albania cannot be forgiven.

In the preparatory conference in March of 1975, the organizers stated that "colonialism is dying... the forces of peace, social freedom and socialism impose an international detente". In September of 1975, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party newspaper "Claridad", printed a statement by PSP leader Mari Bras that supported such a view and spoke of the taking shape of the parameters of detente (Claridad, Sept. 1, 1975, Vol. 17, #857). It is important to understand that consistent support for the conference was based on the recognition of detente as an international strategy. This condition was consciously decided on in order to promote splits and to foist PSP upon the Puerto Rican people as the vanguard of the independence struggle. This was clearly revealed in the sectarian manipulation of the composition of the conference.

In Puerto Rico, PSP with its sectarian politics prevented participation in the conference by the Partido Socialista Revolucionario (PSR-ML). None of the other major independista groups such as the Puerto Rican Independence Party, the Nationalist Party, the Socialist League or PSR took part in the preparations Committee for the conference. In fact, if not in word, the basis for participation became not support for independence for Puerto Rico, but rather agreement with the politics of detente.

In the U.S., a number of organizations such as the Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization were excluded from participation in the preparations for the conference.

On the international level, the sectarian character of the conference was reflected in the choice of location, Cuba. The leadership of the Cuban Communist Party has been most vicious and deceiving in its attacks against People's China and Albania and has willingly covered for the U.S.S.R. in such places as the Algiers Conference of Non-Aligned Countries, where the Camodian and Arab delegations bitterly criticized the Soviet Union's betrayal of the liberation movements.

The PRSC's support of the Havana Conference does in fact make support for Puerto Rican independence conditional on recognition of the politics of detente.

## THE U.N. RESOLUTION

The PRSC has taken a stand in support of the U.N. Decolonization Committee resolution on Puerto Rico. This resolution, which was sponsored by the Cuban delegation, stated that 1) Puerto Rico is a colony, 2) Puerto Rico has the right to independence, and 3) that PSP is the legitimate representative of the Puerto Rican people and should be granted observer status. By linking support for Puerto Rican independence to the recognition of the PSP, this resolution created a split internationally over the question. The resolution narrowed the base of support for Puerto Rican independence to those countries which were willing to recognize the "vanguard" role of the PSP. Again, support for Puerto Rican independence was sacrificed to the pro-Soviet, pro-detente politics of the PSP.

## THE CASE OF FEDERICO CINTRON-FIALLO

Federico Cintron-Fiallo is Executive Secretary of the Movimiento Obrero Unido (MOU) and the leader of the Puerto Rican Guild of Workers. Companero Cintron was arrested on August 13, 1975 by agents of the FBI and the colonial intelligence service (CIC) on a frame-up for bank robbery. Yet, to read "Puerto Rico Libre", organ of the PRSC, he hardly even exists. During the recent wave of repression in Puerto Rico, Cintron's case was mentioned only once, in an article in the October 1975 "Puerto Rico Libre" in connection with his release from jail on reduced bail. In Volume 2, number 8 of "Puerto Rico Libre" in the article on "MOU: The Struggle for Labor Unity", Cintron's role as Executive Secretary of the MOU is not even mentioned while the article totally credits Pedro Grant with founding, organizing and leading the MOU.

Why is this?

It is because Grant is a leader of the PSP and Cintron is not in the PSP at all. Further, it results from Cintron's trenchant criticism of the PSP. Again PRSC tailed behind PSP which initially did not support Cintron's defense calling the repression against Cintron an attempt to divert attention away from PSP. PRSC must take responsibility for its unilateral support of PSP which in this case became a prop for colonial repression.

## THE JULY 4TH COALITION

PRSC has been one of the initiators of this coalition and has both nationally and locally focused its attention on building its "counter-bicentennial" program in Philadelphia on July 4th. At a time in this country's history when the ruling class is moving rapidly to streamline the governmental apparatus (fascization of the state); when the



government is focusing on the preparations for another imperialist war and when the ruling class is the first to trumpet the "viability of American Democracy", for people who call themselves anti-imperialists to engage in such a patently reformist coalition is a direct betrayal of the working class and oppressed nationalities. It is capitulation in the face of the growing trend toward fascism.

Lenin, in his writings on the U.S., clearly indicated that one of the fundamental features of the U.S. working class movement was the absence of any big, nation-wide democratic tasks facing the proletariat; this feature confronted the proletariat with purely socialist tasks. (Lenin, *On the United States of America*, Progress Publishers, p.23-24).

It is clear that the tasks facing the working class in this country are the product of the objective development of imperialism, decaying capitalism. At a time when the ruling class is prompting and promoting illusions about "democracy", trying to prop up its credibility, it is our task to unmask this "American Democracy", and to expose this rotten system of monopoly capitalism. These are crucial times. For PRSC to haze over the characteristics of U.S. imperialism is, in fact, to aid and abet the drive toward fascism and imperialist war. **THE PUERTO RICAN SOCIALIST PARTY**

It is not possible here to present a comprehensive critique of the opportunism of the PSP's Political Theses or its practice. The view of MLIP is that PSP acts as a cover for the interests of Soviet social-imperialism. Here we will focus on one aspect of PSP's line, the divided nation theory, and on a recent example of its practice.

Basically, PSP's thesis that Puerto Ricans are part of the Puerto Rican nation regardless of whether they are living in Puerto Rico or not is an excuse for PSP's practice of organizing within the Puerto Rican minority in the U.S. The views and experience of the communist movement on this question are summarized by J.V. Stalin.

"We have still to settle the question of how to organize the proletariat of the various nationalities into a single common party. One plan is that the workers should be organized on national lines--so many nations, so many parties. That plan was rejected by the Social-Democrats (communists). Experience has shown that the organization of the proletariat of a given state on national lines tends only to destroy the idea of class solidarity. All proletarians of all nations in a given state must be organized in a single, indivisible proletarian collective."

(Stalin, *Marxism and the National Question*, Proletarian Publishers, p.106)

Historical experience also proves that the national division of the worker's party inevitably leads to division of the other workers' organ-

izations (e.g. trade unions) and eventually to strike-breaking. It is also necessary to point out that under conditions of increasing repression and the growing trend toward fascism of the state that a political line which calls for the organization of workers along exclusively national lines represents socialism in words, fascism in practice. By not criticizing this dangerous view, PRSC has become party to it.

The political views and practice of the PSP are reflected clearly in the recent events at Hostos Community College in the Bronx and the process of development which led up to them.

On Monday, March 15 of this year, two members of Resistencia Puertorriqueña, a Marxist-Leninist organization based in the Puerto Rican national minority, distributed a leaflet at Hostos entitled "La Lucha en Hostos es Una Lucha Contra el Imperialismo", ("The Struggle at Hostos is a Struggle Against Imperialism"). In this leaflet, Resistencia criticized the reformist line and tactics of the PSP and the "Communist" Party in the struggle at Hostos, a struggle to save the community college. Rather than respond politically to the criticism, the PSP leaders at Hostos, Professor Ramon Jimenez and Leopolda Rivera organized a goon squad of some twenty people--mostly members of PSP and its student wing, FUSP, and physically attacked the two leafleters. Jimenez told them that the two leafleters were "attacking the students" rather than PSP or the CPUSA, while Rivera alleged that the leafleting was "the work of the CIA".

With all of PSP's posturing at being "un-sectarian", it behaves in the most vicious sectarian manner imaginable

The PRSC, by acting as a "liaison" for PSP to the U.S. left, must also take responsibility for such actions

## DOES PRSC BUILD SOLIDARITY?

The answer to this question is a simple NO. In order for solidarity with the independence movement of Puerto Rico to be successfully built in the U.S., that solidarity must be based on proletarian internationalism. We live in the era of imperialism, when the only class in imperialist countries which has a consistent interest in the liberation of oppressed nations is the working class. We live in the era of imperialism, when the leadership of the trade unions and a small sector of privileged workers have been bought off by imperialist superprofits. This has clear implications. If solidarity is to be successfully built, it must be built among the masses of rank and file workers in this country.

Instead, PRSC has concentrated its attention on building solidarity among trade union bureaucrats (e.g. the Pedro Grant four) and among a select group of "left" organizations with no roots in the working class. It is easy to "build support" among these groups but what about the more difficult but necessary task of building solidarity among workers?

## PRSC IN THE OVERALL CONTEXT

Since the consolidation of imperialism in this country, the tasks that have faced the workers movement in the U.S. have been of a directly socialist character. In order to accomplish these difficult tasks, the workers' movement needs its own leaders, it needs a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party to give the movement con-

scious direction. Without such a party, the workers' movement cannot fulfill the tasks that history has laid upon it, the internationalist tasks of support for national liberation movements like that in Puerto Rico, and the task of overthrowing U.S. imperialism at home.

Today, the situation of the workers' movement has been complicated even more by the dangers of domestic fascism in the U.S. and the threat of imperialist war between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-Imperialism.

The responsibilities of the revolutionary movement in the U.S. are heavy. They permit no vacillation or hedging. Our movement must act decisively to break with opportunism in order to build a vanguard communist party, a party to lead the workers and oppressed nations of the U.S. toward liberation and socialist revolution.

## PUERTO RICO AND THE TASKS OF U.S. MARXIST-LENINISTS

The Marxist-Leninist movement in the United States must break decisively with the ideology, politics and organizational views which underlie the PRSC and other such organizations. In the past, our movement has paid too little attention to the question of Puerto Rico and has thereby left the field open to the opportunism of the PRSC and PSP. Our movement must actively take up the Puerto Rican national question; it must build mass support for the struggles of the Puerto Rican people within the U.S. working class and its trade unions; it must actively promote the task of party building both in the U.S. and Puerto Rico and seek avenues to build close unity between the two. ★

## LYNCHING... (continued)

*Negro masses with even greater intensity than they rob the white workers. Other lynchings result from the refusal of a militant Negro worker or peasant to submit to every kind of social abuse and persecution. The lynchings themselves have admitted as some of the reasons for lynching, the following: trying to vote, accusing a white man of stealing, testifying against white men, being too successful, talking back to a white man.*

Such "leaders" of the Negro people as Walter White, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and such "friends" of the Negro people as the upper class "educated" (as W. E. B. DuBois calls them) whites in the Interracial Commission have ascribed the savagery and brutality of lynching to the drabness of Southern life, to the desire for amusement and entertainment by "poor whites who have no radios and do not go to movies." This is but a dastardly evasion of the real cause of lynching and the desertion of the fight against lynching. It is the traditional policy of these "race leaders" and their white friends to preserve the present system of capitalism, with its segregation and lynching, by making the Negro workers and poor farmers believe that white workers are their enemies, and the "educated" white men (the bosses) their friends.

Brutality and savagery mark all lynchings. Young and old, male and female, have been tortured by fire, a pregnant colored woman was hanged by the ankles and her unborn child ripped from her abdomen. This ruling class savagery has a purpose to strike terror into the hearts of the oppressed Negro people so that they dare not strike out for liberation.

### What is the Real Cause and Purpose of Lynching?

Every lynching, every degradation, every social persecution and proscription, every Jim Crow humiliation, which the Negro masses suffer in this country is the result of the fact that the Negro millions are in the position of an oppressed nationality. They are subjected to a more intense, a fiercer exploitation on the land and in the factories. While the white workers are miserably exploited by the capitalist robbers, the Negro workers are especially exploited and persecuted. They are super-exploited. They are

given the dirtiest jobs, the longest hours, and the least pay. They are the last to be hired and the first to be fired. They must work under the foulest conditions. It is an absolutely undeniable fact that today, nearly 70 years after they were supposed to be "freed," the Negro masses are in slavery, producing super profits for their capitalist landlords and bosses.

Concentrated on the land in the Black Belt, more than three-quarters of the nine and a half million Negroes in the South live in indescribable poverty, crushed by debts and starvation. Every year, after the "settlement" with the landlord, hundreds of thousands of Negro croppers, penniless and owning no land, find that they are toiling hopelessly in peonage, chained to the landlord by debts which no toil can wipe out.

The only way that the capitalist class can preserve this extra exploitation of the Negro masses is to keep them an isolated, degraded group, subject to special persecution. For this they have created a hideous system of social persecution and Jim Crow segregation against the Negro masses, forcing them to live in squalid Jim Crow ghettos. They teach the white workers and their children that whites are "superior" to Negroes. This is the typical method used by a powerful capitalist country to drive a wedge between "its own" workers and the workers of the oppressed nation. This serves a double purpose. It cripples the resistance of the oppressed nationality by isolating it. And it blinds the "superior" workers to the fact that they are being robbed by the same capitalists as the "inferior" workers.

Here we come to the true origin and purpose of lynching. It is with the aid of such methods as lynching, terrorism and violence that this whole system of national oppression, super exploitation and social persecution can be enforced. And the greatest victory for the capitalist rulers is to get white workers to be the agents of their campaign of terrorism. Lynchings defend profits! Lynchings are a warning to the Negro toilers. Lynching is one of the weapons with which the white ruling class enforces its national oppression of the Negro people, and tries to maintain division between the white workers and the Negro toilers.

(PART TWO. see next issue of UNITE!)



# ANGOLA: STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM and OPPORTUNISM

## GO HAND IN HAND

### GENERAL CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM

The second stage of the general crisis of imperialism has meant the sharpening of all of the contradictions of the world. On the one hand, the success of national liberation movements in Vietnam, Cambodia, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and their rise in Southern Africa, are indicative of the revolutionary direction of world history and the sharpening of contradictions between oppressed and oppressor nations. *The world is experiencing the heightening of the contradictions which have made wars of national liberation and proletarian revolution inevitable since the rise of imperialism in the early 20th century. The victory of these wars reflects clearly that revolution is the main trend in the world today!*

On the other hand, the contradictions between the two imperialist superpowers has also been sharpening, due especially to barbarous aggression of Soviet social-imperialism against other nations, in its competition with the U.S. for world hegemony. Both superpowers, caught in the grip of the general crisis of imperialism are attempting to extend their exploitation and influence over the peoples and nations of the world, and are competing for the upper hand in an inevitable imperialist war. For both the U.S., declining in strength and credibility, and the Soviet Union, which is attempting to bolster its weakened economy and influence, a world imperialist war, re-dividing the world among themselves, is the temporary and only solution of the contradictions which plague them. From the contention of these two superpowers then, particularly from the actions of the Soviet Union, emanates the immediate and growing threat of world war and domestic fascism.

Europe, with its high level of productive forces and capital is the focus of superpower contention. However, the Soviet Union and the U.S. also fight fiercely for control of the nations and states of the Third World, where the natural resources necessary to power a world war are to be found in abundance. No army can march and fight without an adequate supply of raw materials - rubber, iron, minerals, agricultural goods, etc. In this context, the contention of the superpowers over various Third World countries, and Angola in particular, takes on a sinister and vicious significance. Reality confirms that while the revolutionary surge of the world's people today determines the course of world history, the factors for both revolution and war are in-



'I hereby claim this land in the name of anti-imperialism'

creasing. Any suggestion which in any way belittles the necessity to oppose imperialist war, today belittles the struggle against imperialism itself

### UPHOLD PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM

Because Angola so clearly reflected the sharpening of all the world contradictions, it presented genuine revolutionary forces with a direct obligation to practice proletarian internationalism - support for the national liberation struggles and opposition to the two superpowers. Our historic task is to unite with the working class and oppressed nationalities world wide to defeat U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism.

This takes the form of the mobilization of the masses of working people in the U.S. against the two superpowers, against their contention in Angola and the rest of the Third World. Proletarian internationalism most definitely does not mean attacking one imperialist superpower while covering up the bloodstained tracks of the other. Our internationalist duty as communists demands the exposure of both U.S. imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism to the people of the world. This exposure is also necessarily bound up with the struggle against opportunism, which protects and "beautifies" imperialist and social-imperialist aggression, while attacking the leading representatives of the international proletariat, the existing dictatorships of the proletariat. The question of Angola requires that Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers be united around an internationalist position on the Angolan civil war (and Soviet social-imperialism) in order to advance toward a new vanguard party. In this way, the contention of the two superpowers

over Angola requires that Marxist-Leninist forces in the U.S. see themselves as an integral part of the international communist movement and to act upon their direct obligation to the international proletariat and the Angolan people.

The opportunist response to the internationalist tasks placed before the communist movement, internationally and in the U.S., has been to completely renounce the Marxist-Leninist duties to the proletariat in favor of support for Soviet social-imperialism.

All over the world Marxist-Leninists have taken different stands on the question of Angola. It is one thing to incorrectly support one of the national liberation movements, it is entirely another thing to openly and blatantly support Soviet social-imperialism in Angola and elsewhere. Because the forces of opportunism and modern revisionism have so heavily focused on the Angolan civil war to mobilize support for Soviet social-imperialism, the Marxist-Leninists and progressive people around the world have a grave responsibility to fight to advance a correct understanding and tactical and strategic line toward Angola.

In short, it was the combined efforts of all three movements in Angola which resulted in victory over the Portuguese colonialists, the Soviet Union is the main instigator of the Angolan civil war, and the savage atrocities committed against the Angolan people since the Portuguese have left are directly a result of the contention between the two superpowers in southern Africa. The main enemy of the Angolan people are the two superpowers, and particularly today Soviet social-imperialism

The recent struggle in Angola has vividly demonstrated in every country that the struggle against imperialism must go hand in hand with the struggle against opportunism

In the remainder of this article, we will attempt to sum up the struggle against opportunism that has been waged in the U.S. over the question of Angola

### AGAINST OPPORTUNISM ON ANGOLA

In the U.S., the Guardian led the attack on a Marxist-Leninist position on Angola, tailed by the Communist Party U.S.A. (CPUSA), the Communist Labor Party (CLP), the Black Panther Party (BPP) and numerous other forces. Calling the line of the Communist Party of China "class collaborationist" these forces swiftly joined with revisionists and centrists worldwide to mount a vicious and slanderous bourgeois attack on the People's Republic of China for its stand on Angola.

The Guardian which formally upheld the position that the Soviet Union was social-imperialist, could not "tell" whether capitalism had been restored in the Soviet Union. The intervention of the Soviet Union and its Cuban mercenaries, the slaughter of Angolan civilians, the shipment of tons of weaponry as early as March of 1975, suddenly became proletarian internationalism to the Guardian.

The Guardian's support of the Soviet social-imperialist intervention in Angola is justified by a revisionist position. The Guardian states that to expose and attack the imperialist actions of the Soviet bourgeoisie, means to support the actions of our, U.S. bourgeoisie. This is the line of Browder, thinly disguised by a "left" tint. Browder urged that the U.S. proletariat unite with its bourgeoisie in order to oppose the fascist bourgeoisies of Hitlerite Germany and Japan in the 1930s and 40s. The essential similarity between these lines is that they both advocate blocing with one imperialist superpower to oppose another. The correct position is to actively oppose both superpowers in their oppression and exploitation of the world's peoples.

Under the guise of protecting the interests of the Angolan people against U.S. imperialism, the centrists and revisionists in the U.S. actively supported one superpower, the Soviet Union, against the other, the U.S., and one liberation movement above all others. By this action, they betrayed the wisdom of Lenin, Stalin and the international proletariat, which teaches that all national liberation movements are objectively revolutionary if they weaken imperialism, regardless of the composition of their leadership. These movements must be supported by all progressive people. Undoubtedly all three Angolan organizations were the cause of the defeat of Portuguese



colonialism, it was only when these organizations began to unite firmly that the colonial administration was forced to relinquish its control over the Angolan people.

The goal of the revisionist activity was to attempt to isolate the international communist movement, particularly China, and the progressive forces in the U.S. from the masses of working people, with the view of winning the masses over to revisionism and the interests of the bourgeoisie. Some honest forces were sucked into these arguments, and revisionism consolidated its hold over various previously centrist organizations. Sworn "enemies" such as the CLP and various Trotskyist sects exhibited their essential compatibility by working together to hoodwink the proletariat of the U.S.

The objective effect of the revisionist and centrist betrayal has been to further confuse, demoralize and split the U.S. working class and national movements, making bourgeois control over the rising revolutionary movement stronger in the short term. Another result has been the resurgence of opportunist forces within the Black Liberation Movement in the U.S. In a period when the U.S. bourgeoisie is moving rapidly towards fascism and imperialist war as the temporary resolution to its contradictions, these actions and political line are nothing less than direct aid to the U.S. and Soviet Union's bourgeoisies, nothing less than social-fascism and social-imperialism. This was how the revisionist forces, led by the Guardian, took up the immediate tasks

set before the communist movement by the international situation.

IMPERIALISM AND OPPORTUNISM GO HAND IN HAND IN THEIR STRUGGLE TO DEFEAT THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, AND HAND IN HAND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND OPPORTUNISM MUST BE CARRIED OUT TO THE END.

With this task in mind, the MLOC joined in the work of the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination (CASD), which was initiated in January 1976 by the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and the Fruitvale Law Collective (FLC) on the basis of two principles of unity: 1) Superpowers out of Angola, and 2) Self-determination for the Angolan people.

These two slogans expressed the goals of the coalition which were a) to mobilize the people of the U.S. against the two superpowers, b) to combat

revisionism and centrism on this question and others, and c) to support the just struggles of the Angolan people. In addition to these stated goals, the MLOC saw the coalition playing a positive role in uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning over the advanced, through the struggle in the coalition and through the mass program eventually presented on March 27, 1976.

Participation in the CASD constituted one in a range of efforts of the MLOC to fulfill our internationalist duty. Within the coalition, the MLOC pressed at the outset for the importance of linking the support for the Angolan people with the long range struggle against both Superpowers, and the contention between the Superpowers over Europe, their main battleground. In addition, we encouraged the linking of

(continued on p. 12)

# Angola: A Temporary Situation

On November 11 of 1975, five centuries of Portuguese colonial domination of Angola were brought to an end. Inheriting a glorious history of struggle against exploitation, three liberation movements joined forces to seize power from the oppressive Portuguese administration. Up to January, 1975, the forces of National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), the Union of the Peoples of Northern Angola (FNLA), and the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) had maintained their organizational independence and equality in pursuing the dual policy of armed struggle and negotiations with Portugal. In January, the three organizations, each representing a substantial part of the Angolan people, signed the Alvor and Mombassa Agreements. The Alvor Agreement, signed by the three liberation organizations and Portugal, replaced separate agreements previously made between individual organizations and the Portuguese government. It called for an end to hostilities with Portugal in exchange for Portuguese withdrawal from Angola. The Mombassa Agreement, signed in Mombassa, Kenya, was an agreement among the three liberation organizations themselves to make preliminary plans for the projected coalition government to be set up upon withdrawal of the Portuguese administration.

These agreements, along with a previous cease-fire pact, represented a great step toward forging a workable unity between the three liberation organizations, for national reconstruction following the independence date in November of 1975. Further evidence that the three organizations desired and worked to achieve unity was the Nakuru Agreement signed in June of 1975, in which each group pledged to work together to form a transitional coalition government. This agreement also pledged the groups to merge their military forces to carry out the transfer of power from the Portuguese colonialists to the Angolan people.

On the eve of Angolan independence, and only one month after the signing of the Nakuru Agreement, in June of 1975, civil war broke out in Angola. The fighting specifically resulted from a massive influx of Soviet arms, which outnumbered the total of those given by the social-imperialists to Angola during the past 15 year liberation struggle. The hostilities were initiated by the MPLA, the recipient of those arms, against the other two liberation groups, UNITA and FNLA. Quickly it became apparent that the Soviet Union, exploiting the differences between the three organizations, was using one of them to force its way into control of the Angolan people and natural resources. It was advantageous to the social-imperialists that this control could be exerted through the guise of helping a struggling national liberation organization. But bitter experience and history have shown the peoples of the world that in its contention with the United States the Soviet social-imperialists are no ally of the national liberation struggles. Rather, the social-imperialists, like the United States, act to subvert liberation struggles for their own benefit. History again shows this lesson in regard to Angola.

## THE PRESENT SITUATION

The present situation in Angola is a temporary one. Great instability prevails, as the Soviet social-imperialists and their Cuban lieutenants jockey for control and domination over the Angolan masses. Politically, the People's Republic of Angola is far from representative of the majority of Angolan people. Within the MPLA itself, disunity and disagreement over the continued Soviet and Cuban military presence has surfaced. The newspaper O Proletaria Vermelho (March 15-30, 1976, #32) reported that Rui Ramos, central committee member, politburo member, and long time editor of the political journal of the MPLA, *Victoria Es Certe*, had been arrested

for being "anti-social-imperialist and anti-social-fascist." It reported further that members of the MPLA had been "arrested, silenced and shot" for their "revolutionary, patriotic, anti-imperialist, and anti-social-imperialist" stand. Newspapers internationally confirm that these arrests occurred immediately after Nito Alves, Interior Minister of the People's Republic of Angola, had returned from attending the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Militarily, UNITA has opened a second "anti-colonial front" to drive the Soviet "personnel" and Cuban mercenary troops out of Angola. UNITA regrouped its army into guerilla units in late April, 1976, in order to avoid annihilation by the more sophisticated Soviet weaponry, and has been fighting a people's war, relying on its close contact with the peasantry. It has established a base area in Cuando-Cubango in southern Angola. From this location UNITA has launched attacks against the Soviet and Cuban troops and strategic points such as railways. UNITA also continues to support SWAPO bases in its territory, and still aids the Namibians in their struggle for national liberation.

Politically the penetration of Cuba and the Soviet Union into Angolan affairs has intensified. Cuban troops are not only settling their families in Angola but have been granted Angolan citizenship by the government of the People's Republic of Angola. This does not make them any less than occupation troops, however!

The Soviet Union is not the only imperialist strengthening its economic exploitation of Angola, through uneven trade agreements, joint stock companies, and outright banditry. The People's Republic of Angola has ensured the continued exploitation of Angolan oil by Gulf Oil Company, which has stripped Angola of its oil in the Cabinda enclave for over ten years now. Gulf Oil paid a \$102 million bribe to the People's Republic of Angola government in order to retain

its privilege. Soviet domination of the Angolan economic and political life ensures that it is the Soviet Union which benefits from such degenerate deals.

In the last few weeks, the South African racist regime has begun to test its strength against its liberated neighbors of Zambia and Mozambique. South African planes have recently bombed Mozambican territory, and bombs exploding in Zambian cities have been blamed on South African provocateurs. It is clear that the U.S., through its puppet South Africa, is trying to reassert its control in southern Africa. At the same time, Soviet interference and intrusion into many fronts in southern Africa is increasing, and the general military situation in southern Africa is escalating rapidly.

However, the Portuguese could not overcome Angolan resistance to colonialism for 500 years. The Soviet social-imperialists are wallowing in bourgeois illusion to think that the Angolan people will stop fighting against colonialism and imperialism at this point. The struggle against the social-imperialists and their Cuban allies will continue until every last neo-colonialist is driven from Angolan soil.

At this time, we must continue to build support for all national liberation movements which objectively oppose imperialism and continue to oppose the presence or involvement of either U.S. imperialism or Soviet social-imperialism anywhere on the African continent. Genuine revolutionary forces must greatly intensify the struggle against opportunism regarding Soviet social-imperialism and support for the national liberation movements. The entire multi-national proletariat must be mobilized in support of the African masses, mobilized to fulfill our proletarian internationalist duty.

(For a detailed background on Angola, see "Superpowers out of Angola," MLOC Special Supplement February, 1976, 10¢)





# CALL FOR JOINT WORK O

What most stands between the liberation of the millions of working and exploited people in this country and the continued rule of the old bourgeois dictatorship is the absence of a vanguard communist party of a new type to lead the working class and its allies in proletarian revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The focus of our central task of party building must be directed toward the development of a draft party program. A draft party program will be decisive in our ability to unite Marxist-Leninists into a single core, and win the most advanced workers to the side of communism. The party program, as a declaration of war against the bourgeoisie, will call forward the best sons and daughters of the working class and other progressive strata to the cause of proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is the party program which represents the highest expression of the ideological and political line of the party. The party program states the basic views of the party, the aim of the party, sets forward its practical demands, and dispels illusions generated by the bourgeoisie regarding the communist party.

For these reasons, the party program is a matter of urgent necessity. What follows is a series of first notes toward the development of a draft party program. In future issues of UNITE we will be discussing various aspects of the work in progress of drafting a party program. We issue this call for joint theoretical and political work on the party program, recognizing that the program must reflect the soundest Marxist-Leninist theory and the deepest possible ties with the masses, and, therefore, must be a collective effort of all genuine Marxist-Leninists and advanced workers.

## I. THE PROLETARIAN PARTY AND THE PARTY PROGRAM

Since the liquidation of the communist party of the U.S. as a party of the working class and its degeneration as a party of monopoly capitalism in 1944, there have been many attempts to reconstitute a genuine communist party, and all have failed to meet the objective requirements of the class struggle. The Progressive Labor Party, the Communist Labor Party, the Revolutionary Communist Party have each failed to learn the lessons from the revisionist course of the CPUSA, and have wound up following the same path.

In the last several years there has been a great development of Marxism-Leninism and of the spontaneous workers' movement. Yet the fusion between them remains at a low level. Their separation breeds shortcomings for both. As Joseph Stalin stated in BRIEFLY ABOUT THE DISAGREEMENTS IN THE PARTY,

*"Scientific socialism without the working class movement is an empty phrase that can always be easily thrown to the winds.*

*On the other hand, the working class movement without socialism is aimless trade unionist wandering, which some time or other will, of course, lead to the social revolution, but at the cost of long pain and suffering."* (Stalin, WORKS, vol. 1, p. 117)

The forging of a vanguard communist party is the biggest step in the fusing of the communist and workers' movements. To carry out this

task, communists must actively offer the masses a program for proletarian revolution. This program will serve to unite the foremost representatives of the working class and organize them into a disciplined core, transforming the spontaneous struggle of the masses aimed against only particular manifestations of bourgeois rule, into a struggle aimed directly at the entire capitalist class and the state apparatus which supports the capitalist class.

Just as an army needs its general staff, so does the working class need its vanguard party. In the same sense that the army needs its battle plan of action, so does the vanguard party need its party program.

Marxist-Leninist agitation and propaganda has brought forward an increasing number of advanced class conscious workers, advanced elements from the national liberation struggle, and revolutionary intellectuals. Significant progress has been made in the communist movement in breaking with ideological tendencies alien to the working class, such as modern revisionism, trotskysm and anarchism. We have long ago passed by the period when work can professionally be carried on by small circles, or even organizations which work in just a few large cities.

Genuine ideological unity of the advanced representatives of the working class will not be consolidated through pure "ideological struggle." Ideological unity will be consolidated through a party program. At the same time, it is the party program which is the highest expression of political line of the proletariat.

That is why the demand for a party program grows directly out of the needs of the movement itself, and why a draft party program is absolutely required as the basis to call a party congress and reconstitute a party of a new type.

While the MLOC pointed out in our early documents the necessity for a party program as the basis to significantly advance the tasks of uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced to communism, it has not been until recently that we have been in a position to take up this work actively. The development of partial program statements on questions such as party building, the Black national question, the international situation, the woman question and others are no substitute for a party program, but are the first steps in that direction. The extent to which these partial statements can be transformed into a comprehensive statement on the views, aims and demands of the working class in its struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat, will determine the pace of our work in uniting Marxist-Leninists and winning the advanced. Joint theoretical and political work on the party program means that the theoretical work is taken up in order to carry forward our political tasks in the trade unions, in the national movements, against the two superpowers, etc. Those that have suggested that a party congress, let alone a party can be called without a draft party program, undermine any genuine basis of unity of will or unity of action of the proletariat.

## II. THE NATURE OF THE PARTY PROGRAM

The aim of the party program is to define the real aims of the working class movement in its struggle for the dictatorship of the pro-

letariat. It seeks to apply the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to the concrete conditions of this country. It provides an independent elaboration of the basic theory of Marxism applied to this country.

There are numerous components of a party program. But, in general they must include

- (1) A formulation of the basic views of the party, the basic tenets or principles which explain the role and position of the working class in society and the significance of the struggle between labor and capital.
- (2) The aim of the party in relation to other political trends must be established, pointing out that this is the only genuine party of the working class, and explaining the attitude of the party toward other classes in society.
- (3) The party program must indicate the practical demands of the working class, linking all partial and fragmentary demands to the general level of the demand for socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These demands must include nationwide reforms, the demands and program of the working class and the just demands of other progressive strata which the working class would defend. Isolated demands must be raised to the status of agitation for the program of proletarian revolution.
- (4) The program must as well dispel all misunderstandings and misconceptions which are the result of bourgeois ideological penetration of the working class.

These are the major components of the party program. The most important part of the party program is an explanation of the activity of the Party in defending the interests of the working class, the activity of all class conscious workers.

The drafting of such a party program which really applies to the concrete conditions of this country must state directly that the party will in every way possible directly assist the working masses in their struggle for emancipation through the development of the workers' class consciousness, the development of the party organization itself, and through indicating the real aims of the movement.

Put in its most concise fashion, the History of the CPSU(B) summed up that

*"The program of a workers' party is a brief scientifically formulated statement of the aims and objectives of the struggle of the working class. The program defines both the ultimate goal of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the demands for which the party fights while on the way to the achievement of the ultimate goal."* (HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B), p. 38)

## III. WHAT THE PARTY PROGRAM MUST NOT DO

While Lenin is careful to stipulate exactly what will be contained in the party program, he also takes care to guide us in what a party program must not be. In particular, Engels (in On the Erfurt Program) and Lenin on numerous occasions, indicate that the party program



# FOR JOINT WORK ON THE PARTY PROGRAM

sts must actively offer the mass-  
for proletarian revolution. This  
serve to unite the foremost repre-  
the working class and organize  
disciplined core, transforming the  
struggle of the masses aimed again-  
cultural manifestations of bourgeois  
struggle aimed directly at the en-  
st class and the state apparatus  
s the capitalist class.

army needs its general staff, so  
ing class need its vanguard par-  
ame sense that the army needs its  
f action, so does the vanguard  
s party program.  
nunist agitation and propaganda  
ward an increasing number of ad-  
conscious workers, advanced ele-  
e national liberation struggle,  
ary intellectuals. Significant  
been made in the communist move-  
ing with ideological tendencies  
working class, such as modern re-  
tskyism and anarchism. We have  
ed by the period when work can  
be carried on by small circles,  
izations which work in just a few

ological unity of the advanced  
s of the working class will not  
d through pure "ideological  
eological unity will be consoli-  
a party program. At the same  
e party program which is the  
sion of political line of the

the demand for a party program  
out of the needs of the move-  
nd why a draft party program is  
uired as the basis to call a  
and reconstitute a party of a

LOC pointed out in our early  
necessity for a party program  
o significantly advance the  
ng Marxist-Leninists and winning  
o communism, it has not been un-  
hat we have been in a position  
s work actively. The development  
gram statements on questions  
uilding, the Black national  
international situation, the wo-  
nd others are no substitute for  
t, but are the first steps in  
. The extent to which these  
nts can be transformed into a  
statement on the views, aims and  
working class in its struggle  
rship of the proletariat, will  
ace of our work in uniting Marx-  
nd winning the advanced. Joint  
l political work on the party pro-  
: the theoretical work is taken  
carry forward our political  
ade unions, in the national  
nst the two superpowers, etc.  
suggested that a party congress,  
ty can be called without a draft  
undermine any genuine basis of  
r unity of action of the prole-

letariat. It seeks to apply the universal  
principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung  
Thought to the concrete conditions of this  
country. It provides an independent elabora-  
tion of the basic theory of Marxism applied to  
this country.

There are numerous components of a party  
program. But, in general they must include

(1) A formulation of the basic views of  
the party, the basic tenets or principles  
which explains the role and position of the  
working class in society and the signifi-  
cance of the struggle between labor and  
capital.

(2) The aim of the party in relation to  
other political trends must be established,  
pointing out that this is the only genuine  
party of the working class, and explaining  
the attitude of the party toward other  
classes in society.

(3) The party program must indicate the  
practical demands of the working class,  
linking all partial and fragmentary demands  
to the general level of the demand for soc-  
ialist revolution and the establishment of  
the dictatorship of the proletariat. These  
demands must include nation wide reforms,  
the demands and program of the working class  
and the just demands of other progressive  
strata which the working class would defend.  
Isolated demands must be raised to the sta-  
tus of agitation for the program of prole-  
tarian revolution.

(4) The program must as well dispel all  
misunderstandings and misconceptions which  
are the result of bourgeois ideological pene-  
tration of the working class.

These are the major components of the party  
program. The most important part of the party  
program is an explanation of the activity of  
the Party in defending the interests of the  
working class, the activity of all class con-  
scious workers.

The drafting of such a party program which  
really applies to the concrete conditions of  
this country must state directly that the party  
will in every way possible directly assist the  
working masses in their struggle for emancipa-  
tion through the development of the workers  
class consciousness, the development of the  
party organization itself, and through indica-  
ting the real aims of the movement.

Put in its most concise fashion, the History  
of the CPSU(B) summed up that

"The program of a workers' party is a  
brief, scientifically formulated statement  
of the aims and objectives of the struggle  
of the working class. The program defines  
both the ultimate goal of the revolutionary  
movement of the proletariat and the demands  
for which the party fights while on the  
way to the achievement of the ultimate  
goal." (HISTORY OF THE CPSU(B), p. 38)

### III. WHAT THE PARTY PROGRAM MUST NOT DO

While Lenin is careful to stipulate exactly  
what will be contained in the party program, he  
also takes care to guide us in what a party  
program must not be. In particular, Engels  
(in On the Erfurt Program) and Lenin on numer-  
ous occasions, indicate that the party program

must guard against repetition and guard again-  
st becoming a commentary on the program. This  
is particularly important. To confuse the par-  
ty program with a commentary on the program  
will be to produce a document of very limited  
value amongst the masses, a document which will  
not be able to engage the party in the practical  
struggle of the masses. At the same time,  
Lenin also indicates clearly the importance of  
dealing with the specific form of capitalist  
development in each country, such that the pro-  
gram is really a compendium and guide for strug-  
gle against the bourgeoisie of the country it  
is written for.

This means that the Party must issue both a  
program and, no doubt, a series of commentar-  
ies on the program.

### IV. THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE PARTY PROGRAM

One of the very most important aspects of  
the ability of the party to lead the working  
class and its allies in struggle against the  
bourgeoisie, will be the stand of the party on  
the national question, and the Black national  
question in particular. The party program must  
unmistakably stand for the unity of the multi-  
national proletariat - and this means a firm,  
resolute and uncompromising stand for the right  
of self-determination up to and including se-  
cession for the Black Nation, other oppressed  
nations, and the demands for full democratic  
rights for all oppressed minorities. The ques-  
tion of self-determination and democratic  
rights must be an integral part of the party  
program.

The significance of the national question in  
our party program was vividly spelled out by  
Lenin.

"As the party of the proletariat, the  
Social-Democratic Party considers it to  
be its positive and principal task to  
further the self-determination of the prole-  
tariat in each nationality rather than  
that of peoples or nations. We must al-  
ways and unreservedly work for the very  
closest unity of the proletariat of all  
nationalities, and it is only in isolated  
and exceptional cases that we can advance  
and actively support demands conducive to  
the establishment of a new class state or  
to the substitution of a looser federal  
unity, etc., for the complete political  
unity of a state." (Lenin, "The National  
Question in our Programme," CW, vol. 6,  
p. 454)

"The accursed history of autocracy has left  
us a legacy of tremendous estrangement be-  
tween the working classes of the various  
nationalities oppressed by that autocracy.  
This estrangement is a very great evil, a  
very great obstacle in the struggle  
against the autocracy, and we must not  
legitimise this evil or sanctify this  
outrageous state of affairs by establish-  
ing any such 'principles' as separate  
parties or a 'federation' of parties.  
It is, of course, simpler and easier to  
follow the line of least resistance, and  
for everyone to make himself comfortable in  
his own corner following the rule, 'it's  
none of my business,' as the Bird now  
wants to do. The more we realise the need  
for unity and the more firmly we are con-  
vinced that a concerted offensive against  
the autocracy is impossible without com-  
plete unity, the more obvious becomes the  
necessity for a centralised organisation.

of the struggle in the condit-  
political system - the less  
we to be satisfied with a 'st-  
specious and, at bottom, prof-  
solution of the problem. So  
is no desire to put an end ra-  
at all costs to this estrange-  
camp of the proletarian party  
need for the fig-leaf of 'fed-  
no use in undertaking to solv-  
which one of the 'sides' conc-  
real desire to solve. That be-  
it is better to let the lesso-  
lence and of the actual movem-  
that centralism is essential  
in the struggle waged by the  
of all nationalities oppressed  
against that autocracy and ag-  
international bourgeoisie, wh-  
coming more and more united " (462-3).

### V. AN URGENT TASK OF OUR MO

Nothing more demonstrates the  
a draft party program today than  
polemics being carried on by the  
wing" and Workers Viewpoint Organ-  
Lenin clearly points out the impor-  
principled polemics being carried  
view of the masses, in order to d-  
lines of demarcation. Yet, Lenin,  
PROGRAMME OF OUR PARTY, stated cle-

"On the other hand, if the pole-  
to be fruitless if it is not  
ate into personal rivalry, if  
to lead to a confusion of views  
founding of enemies and friends  
olutely essential that the que-  
programme be introduced into  
The polemic will be of benefit  
makes clear in what the differ-  
tually consist, how profound th-  
whether they are differences of  
or differences on partial quest-  
whether or not these difference  
fere with common work in the re-  
and the same party. Only the  
of the programme question into  
only a definite statement by th-  
lemising parties on their progr-  
views, can provide an answer to  
questions, questions that insis-  
mand an answer." (Lenin, "A Dra-  
of our Party," CW, vol. 4, p. 2)

It is through the application of  
principles to the concrete conditi-  
class struggle in this country, th-  
key development of political line-  
cisiveness of theory expressed in  
gram, that definite lines of demar-  
be drawn. Polemics serve to diffe-  
finite programmatic statements, but  
can never develop program or subst-  
political and theoretical work.

### VI. A PLAN FOR DRAFTING THE PROGRAM

Party building is a question of  
communist and workers' movements in



# IN THE PARTY PROGRAM

guard against repetition and guard against becoming a commentary on the program. This is particularly important. To confuse the party program with a commentary on the program will be to produce a document of very limited value amongst the masses, a document which will not be able to engage the party in the practical struggle of the masses. At the same time, Lenin also indicates clearly the importance of dealing with the specific form of capitalist development in each country, such that the program is really a compendium and guide for struggle against the bourgeoisie of the country it is written for.

This means that the Party must issue both a program and, no doubt, a series of commentaries on the program.

## V. THE NATIONAL QUESTION AND THE PARTY PROGRAM

One of the very most important aspects of the ability of the party to lead the working class and its allies in struggle against the bourgeoisie, will be the stand of the party on the national question, and the Black national question in particular. The party program must unmistakably stand for the unity of the multinational proletariat - and this means a firm, resolute and uncompromising stand for the right of self-determination up to and including secession for the Black Nation, other oppressed nations, and the demands for full democratic rights for all oppressed minorities. The question of self-determination and democratic rights must be an integral part of the party program.

The significance of the national question in our party program was vividly spelled out by Lenin

"As the party of the proletariat, the Social-Democratic Party considers it to be its positive and principal task to further the self-determination of the proletariat in each nationality rather than that of peoples or nations. We must always and unreservedly work for the very closest unity of the proletariat of all nationalities, and it is only in isolated and exceptional cases that we can advance and actively support demands conducive to the establishment of a new class state or to the substitution of a looser federal unity, etc., for the complete political unity of a state" (Lenin, "The National Question in our Programme, CW, vol. 6, p. 454)

"The accursed history of autocracy has left us a legacy of tremendous estrangement between the working classes of the various nationalities oppressed by that autocracy. This estrangement is a very great evil, a very great obstacle in the struggle against the autocracy, and we must not legitimise this evil or sanctify this outrageous state of affairs by establishing any such 'principles' as separate parties or a 'federation' of parties. It is, of course, simpler and easier to follow the line of least resistance, and for everyone to make himself comfortable in his own corner following the rule, 'it's none of my business,' as the Bund now wants to do. The more we realise the need for unity and the more firmly we are convinced that a concerted offensive against the autocracy is impossible without complete unity, the more obvious becomes the necessity for a centralised organisation

of the struggle in the conditions of our political system - the less inclined are we to be satisfied with a 'simple,' but specious and, at bottom, profoundly false solution of the problem. So long as there is no desire to put an end radically and at all costs to this estrangement in the camp of the proletarian party, there is no need for the fig-leaf of 'federation,' and no use in undertaking to solve a problem which one of the 'sides' concerned has no real desire to solve. That being the case, it is better to let the lessons of experience and of the actual movement prove that centralism is essential for success in the struggle waged by the proletarians of all nationalities oppressed by autocracy against that autocracy and against the international bourgeoisie, which is becoming more and more united" (Ibid., pp. 462-3).

## V. AN URGENT TASK OF OUR MOVEMENT

Nothing more demonstrates the vital need for a draft party program today than the infantile polemics being carried on by the "revolutionary wing" and Workers Viewpoint Organization. Lenin clearly points out the importance of principled polemics being carried out in full view of the masses, in order to draw definite lines of demarcation. Yet, Lenin, in A DRAFT PROGRAMME OF OUR PARTY, stated clearly that

"On the other hand, if the polemic is not to be fruitless if it is not to degenerate into personal rivalry, if it is not to lead to a confusion of views, to a confounding of enemies and friends, it is absolutely essential that the question of the programme be introduced into the polemic. The polemic will be of benefit only if it makes clear in what the differences actually consist, how profound they are, whether they are differences of substance or differences on partial questions, whether or not these differences interfere with common work in the ranks of one and the same party. Only the introduction of the programme question into the polemic, only a definite statement by the two polemicising parties on their programmatic views, can provide an answer to all these questions, questions that insistently demand an answer" (Lenin, "A Draft Programme of our Party," CW, vol. 4, p. 231)

It is through the application of the general principles to the concrete conditions of the class struggle in this country, through the key development of political line and the decisiveness of theory expressed in a party program, that definite lines of demarcation will be drawn. Polemics serve to differentiate definite programmatic statements, but themselves can never develop program or substitute for political and theoretical work.

## VI. A PLAN FOR DRAFTING THE PARTY PROGRAM

Party building is a question of fusing the communist and workers' movements in the course

of breaking ideologically, politically and organizationally with opportunism, particularly modern revisionism. In order to unite Marxist-Leninists and win the advanced to communism, joint theoretical and political work must be carried out in order to carefully and patiently establish sound unity and tested leadership. On the questions of the nature of the party, the Black national question, the international situation and the trade union question a clear and definite political statement must be developed, tested in practice and developed to a higher level. Other questions, such as the woman question, the nature of the general crisis and the Chicano national question require immediate theoretical attention.

Joint theoretical and political work on these questions is the basis for the drafting of a party program. With the development of genuine unity and genuine leadership in our movement on a national basis that has been tested in the crucible of class struggle, a center will emerge, united around a draft party program and issue a call for a party congress.

While considerable work remains to be achieved in the elaboration and testing of a correct political line, work on a draft party program must be taken up as the focus of all other work of party building. For example, our work in the trade unions is taken up with the focus of developing a party program, in the course of leading the spontaneous struggle of the masses and providing it with a conscious character.

In the following issues of UNITE' the MLOC will issue a definite plan and agenda of work required to draft a party program. The MLOC calls upon all genuine Marxist-Leninists and militant workers to take up the joint theoretical and political work to draft a party program. This program must be the result of the labor of the best sons and daughters of the working class, must reflect the most advanced theory and the deepest possible ties with the masses. It is not something to be glued together in a back room, or worked out after the party congress. The unity of will and unity of action of the proletariat, the formation of the party of a new type depends upon the clarity of vision and basic foundation established in the party program.

In addition to developing an agenda for joint theoretical and political work, the center pages of UNITE' will in the following issues regularly carry on a discussion of the various aspects of work in drafting a party program. We will reprint important programs of numerous Marxist-Leninist parties around the world, will discuss various aspects of the draft program itself, will attempt to sum up the negative lessons to be learned from the programs of the PLP, CLP and RCP, and develop study guide material to assist other comrades in carrying out the vital task of party building and drafting the party program.

In turn, the MLOC calls upon all friends and comrades, as well as other Marxist-Leninist organizations, to help generate a party program, to raise discussion of the issues involved, to offer criticism of material we present. The task of drafting a party program, as forging the party itself, requires honest, solid work. As has the Communist Party of China, we call upon comrades to

"dedicate their lives to the struggle for communism, must be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory" (CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA, 10th PARTY CONGRESS, p. 64)



the CASD with preparations for African Liberation Day in May, in order that that day take on a truly internationalist character and mobilize the multinational proletariat. Both suggestions to broaden the coalition met initially with resistance. While the focus of the two Superpowers was taken up, African Liberation Day was ignored and resisted by the minority bloc in the coalition. The result was that in the Bay Area, African Liberation Day was completely dominated by an opportunist political line this year, as in many other parts of the country.

In addition, the MLOC published a four page broadsheet which outlines the history of Angola and the development of its present situation. We obtained and circulated reliable information on the progress of events in Angola, and defended in our work the principled stand of China and Albania on this question. (See "Superpowers Out of Angola", MLOC Supplement February, 1976)

*The CASD embodied many valuable lessons on proletarian internationalism and the struggle to unite Marxist-Leninists in the face of an opportunist offensive*

## TWO LINE STRUGGLE

The development of the CASD is a history of two-line struggle sharply and constantly waged around almost every issue. In particular the issues of the nature of the international situation and the nature of national liberation movements provoked especially severe struggle between genuine Marxist-Leninist positions and opportunism within the coalition. On these two points and all their subsidiary points, clear lines of demarcation between opportunist and Marxist-Leninist political lines were drawn early in the coalition's history.

The coalition was composed of national and regional Marxist-Leninist organizations, progressive collectives, anti-imperialist mass organizations and groups representative of the oppressed nations and national minorities in the U.S. During the course of the coalition, two established blocs developed, each consistently embodying distinct political positions and class stands. The majority bloc consisted of I Wor Kuen (IWK), October League (OL), Asian Student Union, San Francisco State and Laney College chapters (ASU), Fight Don't Starve (FDS), MLOC and for a time Bay Area Communist Union (BACU) as well as most of the non-affiliated comrades who upheld and defended the line of the international proletariat against all varieties of attack from both internal and external sources. The minority bloc, consisting of Fruitvale Law Collective (FLC), a Marxist-Leninist collective in the Bay Area, Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Japan Town Collective (JTC), Revolutionary Student Union (RSU), the representative from the African Liberation Support Committee, even though ALSC nationally and locally does not uphold the line put forward in the coalition, and after a certain point BACU, persistently put forward a right opportunist line, which served the interests of the bourgeois-

sie and covered for Soviet social-imperialism. A number of honest forces aligned with the latter position through naivete or subjectivism.

August Twenty-Ninth Movement, (ATM), the last organization to join the coalition, displayed a vacillating position. It voted on every major question with the majority position, and opposed the RWL, their comrades in the Revolutionary Wing. Yet ATM stated that they considered the main forces as the majority opportunists, that is, not in the Revolutionary Wing. Further, ATM in summing up their role in the coalition stated that they had come to the coalition to learn more about the nature of the international situation, and that this accounted for their relatively passive role in the two line struggle. However, ATM had presented their position on the situation in Angola and the world at a public forum over a month prior to the program of the CASD, but made no effort to share this experience with the CASD, or struggle over political line.

## INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The nature of the international situation, whether war or revolution most characterizes the objective situation, and the direction of history was the issue involving the sharpest struggle as well as the clearest examples of principled and unprincipled methods of struggle and work. This vital topic was debated in every general meeting of the coalition, raised again and again by the minority, despite the continual triumph of the correct Marxist-Leninist line upheld by the majority.

The majority bloc of organizations and individuals waged consistent and sharp struggle for a correct line. This line, which defeated the opportunist view in three votes and countless smaller meetings, is a scientific assessment of the world situation, and our tasks flowing from it. While reaffirming that the over-all motion of history is in favor of revolution and the victory of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the world, this position also stated that the factors for both war and revolution are on the rise. But those holding this view also stated that "owing to the crisis of imperialism, the flames of national revolt have flared up both in the colonies and Europe, and that national sympathies and antipathies have manifested themselves in spite of the

Draconian threats and measures of repression" (Lenin, QUESTIONS OF NATIONAL POLICY AND PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM, p. 158).

From this analysis flowed the majority's position on the nature of national liberation movements. These movements are the leading force against imperialism in the world at this time, their rise is one sign of the sharpening of contradictions between imperialism and the oppressed nations and peoples of the world. The national movements, regardless of the class composition of their leadership, are objectively revolutionary if they are a force in weakening imperialism, in their struggle for liberation. Recognizing that all three Angolan liberation organizations had contributed to the overthrow of Portuguese domination, and the weakening of imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, the majority bloc insisted that the coalition not publically criticize any one of them, MPLA, UNITA or FNLA, or choose anyone as the "genuine" liberation movement in Angola. On these points the majority line was identical to that of the Chinese Communist Party.

On both points the minority held an opposing view, although the leader of that bloc, the RWL, has since repudiated the line it held in the coalition. The minority bloc advanced that the majority position was centrist, and generally right opportunist. Their line consistently put forward that they agreed with the majority position concerning the inevitability of revolution in the historical epoch of imperialism. However, they held that in the immediate period, the factors for war and revolution had consolidated into trends, and these two trends were contending.

The organizations of the minority put forward the line that the two "contending trends" of war and revolution were two mutually exclusive parts of a contradiction, which at this point were in a temporary state of equilibrium. Because of this, and the "lagging behind of the subjective factor", allegedly communists "could not determine scientifically which trend was primary at this time". Inevitably, the minority's position on the international situation resulted in their position on the role and nature of national liberation movements, in Angola in particular.

## NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

The minority bloc, principally RWL, put forward on two occasions that national liberation movements are not objectively revolutionary unless they openly espouse socialism, employ certain principles of warfare and are led by the proletariat or a communist party.

The implications of this view are serious. If the national liberation movements are not objectively revolutionary, they must be counter-revolutionary. There is no middle ground on which to stand. *Either the national movements are part of and strengthen the world-socialist revolutionary movement, or they are part of the imperialist reaction against this historic motion.* Very clearly, the national movements not only contribute to but lead the world's revolutionary movements at this time. Any other line, such as the implications of the one put forward by the minority, is totally bankrupt.

The basis of their point of view, was that the minority bloc over-estimated the forces of reaction and could not tell whether revolution or war is the principal trend in the world at this time. Their failure to comprehend the nature of the present era caused them to negate the revolutionary character of many of the present national struggles of the second and third worlds.

In this context, the minority supported putting forward a criticism of the MPLA for having failed to engage in people's war, having not been self-reliant, and for having accepted aid from the Soviet Union and Cuba. To the minority, the coalition had a "right" in its attempt to educate and mobilize the people of the U.S., to criticize the MPLA for non-compliance with certain principles in its internal affairs.

When the RWL later formally repudiated their position on the revolutionary character of the national liberation movements, they continued to press for a criticism of the MPLA. The essence of their line did not change, therefore, and their 'repudiation' was merely a cover for continued opportunism on this question. Against this social-chauvinist position, the majority bloc waged protracted and sharp struggle.

## NATURE OF THE EPOCH AT STAKE

*Old revisionism attempted to mislead the revolutionary movement of the proletariat by*

## CUBA: NEO-COLONY OF SOVIET SOCIAL IMPERIALISM

The material basis for Cuban support of Soviet social imperialism and its "commitment of troops" to Angola under Soviet baton is readily understandable when the economic dependence of Cuba on the Soviet Union is brought to light. Unlike other small socialist countries, such as Albania, which pursues a policy of self-reliance, the Cuban economy has always been heavily tied to Soviet strings,

particularly so in the last several years. Today, Cuba is a neo-colony of Soviet social-imperialism.

\* The first Soviet "investment" in Cuba was for nickel, which the Soviet social imperialists needed for their armaments industry.

\*The Cuban economy developed primarily around sugar in order to meet the Soviet "inter-

national division of labor", to supply sugar to the USSR and Eastern Europe. Secondly, were the needed nickel, coffee and tobacco for revisionist consumption. Castro attacked the line of self-reliance as "dogmatic".

\*In 1971, 57.2% of Cuba's imports were from the USSR, who received 35.3% of Cuba's exports, not including figures for Eastern Europe.



*attacking Marxism Modern revisionism seeks the same end by attacking Leninism* By stating that war and revolution are mutually exclusive parts of a contradiction, that imperialist war is a trend that is or could become primary in determining the development of world history, the minority objectively and independently of its will, revised the fundamental teachings of Lenin on the nature of imperialism. Instead of seeing imperialism as a permanent source of wars and armed aggressions, the minority viewed war as an aspect of imperialism which competes with revolution to determine the course of history. War is the temporary forced resolution of the contradictions facing imperialist powers and between them, contradictions which spring from the same objective conditions as those giving rise to revolution. The elevation of imperialist war to a trend means nothing less than denial of the basic teachings of Lenin on the nature of imperialism, war, and the fundamental contradictions in the world.

*This line in essence negated that the basic class contradictions of capitalist society give rise in turn to both war and revolution*

By putting forward that "two trends" are contending, the organizations of the minority discarded an analysis of fundamental class contradictions of imperialism based on materialism, and descended into the depths of idealism.

Further, this idealistic position over-estimated the strength of the bourgeoisie of the imperialist superpowers, and belittled the rising strength of the international proletariat and national liberation movements in two ways. First, the statement that "we cannot know which trend is primary because of the lag in the subjective factor" is a clear abandonment of the Marxist-Leninist duty not only to understand the world, but also to change it. This position relegates the proletariat to supposedly not knowing what is now the trend of the international situation, and in this way stifles the resistance and the development of the subjective factor within the working class movement.

Second was the rationale for stating that war was now a "trend", in contention with revolutionary struggles for "hegemony". This "analysis" is based on the fact that the U.S. and Soviet proletariats are not yet strong enough to prevent

war between the two superpowers by overthrowing their own bourgeoisies. Therefore war is more likely to occur than revolution, and therefore war is a trend contending with revolution said the proponents of this metaphysical line. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party leading the revolutionary struggle of the Russian proletariat were also unable to prevent the Tsarist regime from going to war in 1914. But in 1917, just three years later, they were able to seize state power precisely because of the crisis of the imperialist bourgeoisie that world war represents. The minority position did not see the revolutionary struggle as a process of development reflected in strategy and tactics based on changes in the relations of forces in class struggle. Rather they seized on the momentary appearances of the world situation and working class movements during a short period of time and elevated these appearances to fundamentally negate the revolutionary direction of world history.

## THE LINE OF KRUSHCHEVITE

### REVISIONISM

What does this line represent and on what is it based? It is the line of Krushchevite revisionism, a bourgeois metaphysical and idealist line based on the interests of the imperialists. Philosophically this line begins with the Deborinist theory of equilibrium. This theory places the factors for war and the factors for revolution in "dialectical unity", positing both of these as equal "trends" which at present are holding each other at bay. It does not accept that contradiction in a thing expresses itself throughout its entire history and development, but sees contradictions as only occurring at a certain point in the development of a thing. Thus, re-

volution was the main trend in the world, but now there are two trends, war and revolution, which have recently come into contradiction with one another. Instead of investigating and examining the objective conditions, the metaphysicians who declare this line seize upon two distinct events in the world and counterpose them as poles of a contradiction without seeing if they are indeed the product of the splitting of a single whole into its component parts. The minority justified this opportunist position by stating that Marxist-Leninists "divide one into two". They claim that it is we Marxist-Leninists who divide one into two, instead of remembering that in the real world the development of processes leads to the actual division of things into their opposites, and not that we divide them in our heads. This line in actuality led the minority to combining one into two. An example of this idealism is their fusing of war and revolution into a mechanical unity. A second example is their fusion of the MPLA with Soviet social-imperialism, viewing this association as voluntary instead of understanding the force of imperialism in its push for hegemony.

This pessimistic and conservative view is the expression of the petty bourgeois outlook ultimately reflecting the imperialist bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie has long been the merchant of bourgeois goods, and this case is no different. Seeking to find a niche in the revolution, the opportunism of the petty bourgeoisie manifests itself in voluntarism. Voluntarism is the ideology that something will exist, if only we wish it so. This is the source of the idealist line that Marxist-Leninists can voluntarily "divide one into two", instead of grasping objective contradictions through study of concrete conditions.

Voluntarism reflects the petty bourgeois class basis behind the lines of fusing war and revolution into a contradiction, of fusing the MPLA and Soviet social-imperialism into one whole. Voluntarism profoundly reflects the interests of the petty bourgeoisie as a class, which is not driven to revolution by objective conditions, as is the proletariat, but becomes voluntarily involved in the revolutionary movement for fear of being left behind, for fear of losing its distinction from the proletariat. This is the ideological source which allowed the minority to twist the scientific tenets of Marxism-Leninism to their own use.

*The two lines here described developed during the course of the coalition, taking a slightly more expanded form at each meeting. It was the development of the two lines in the coalition that determined the concrete course of the coalition's event. This shows the truth of Chairman Mao's statement that class struggle determines everything.*



This is the first part of a two part article, to be continued in the next issue of UNITE.

The next part of this article will take up the line changes of the OL and RNL regarding the international situation, as well as a broader analysis of the roles of different organizations within the coalition. The actions flowing from the opportunist line of the minority will be outlined, and the lessons of the CASD for the communist and proletarian movements summarized.

## Death to Apartheid

Since the present racist government of the South African minority regime came to power in 1948, a vast body of legislative enactments has come into existence, designed to give effect to the new policy of apartheid. Hundreds of laws have been passed by the white minority parliament; thousands of regulations, proclamations and

government notices have been issued under those laws.

All these combine to constitute the legal apparatus which regulates the daily lives of more than 4/5 of the population of Azania (South Africa), i.e. the 20.7 million Blacks.

These "Bantu" laws, such as the pass laws, the trespass laws and other laws applying only to the African community are in many ways similar to the Black Codes and Jim Crow laws of the Black Belt South. They control virtually every waking and sleeping movement of the African's life: home, family, movement, work, education, marriage, religion, etc.

The political, military and economic center of the southern African region is the "Republic of South Africa". Azania, the homeland of apartheid, towers like a giant over the African continent. It produces about three-quarters of the entire industrial product of the continent.

The South African apartheid regime is economically, politically and militarily supported by U.S. imperialism and by a number of second world countries like West Germany, France and Britain.

The present wave of repression was sparked by the attempt to further curb the education of the African majority by imposing the Boer language on the African students, who have traditionally used English for their studies. This led to massive protests in the major cities such as Johannesburg.

The latest events in Azania, the murder of over 100 people and the injury of over 1000, are the largest mass scale acts of fascist brutality since the Sharpeville massacre on March 21, 1960. The victories of the national liberation struggles in the last several years have had a profound impact on the struggle in Azania today. Today the Azanian people stand closer to national liberation than ever before and it is the duty of all working people in the United States to support their just struggle.



\*The Cuban debt to the USSR approaches \$3-4 billion (U.S.),

which is increasing at about \$350-400 million a year.

\*In the 1964-1965 period, Cuba traded 21.5 metric tons of sugar for one Soviet tractor. In 1971 one Soviet tractor required 43.6 metric tons to the Soviet Union.

\*Cuba is now approaching a situation where the net incoming "aid" of Soviet social imperialism is equal to or less than the outgoing debt in payment.

\*The Soviet investment in Cuba today is about \$4-5 billion (U.S.), considerably more than the height of U.S. investment in Cuba.

\*On July 11, 1972, Cuba became part of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), fully integrating itself into the economy of the USSR and Eastern Europe.



# CUBA-REVISIONIST STRONGHOLD IN THE CARIBBEAN

The Cuban masses have historically waged a heroic and courageous struggle against exploitation and oppression, dating back hundreds of years. The revolutionary struggle which led to the overthrow of the Batista dictatorship on January 1, 1959, was a historic victory for the people of Cuba.

Yet, in the last few years, it has been impossible to ignore the definite revisionist stand the Cuban government has taken in world affairs. The proclamations of Fidel Castro in defense of Soviet social-imperialism at the non-aligned nations conferences, the recent Havana conference on Puerto Rico and the Conference of the major revisionist parties of Latin America, the declaration that Cuba is a "Latin Afro country" and the Cuban mercenary invasion of Angola under Soviet baton - all require that the progressive people of the world, and particularly the U.S., take a much

closer look at what is happening 90 miles from Miami.

Recently the Progress Publishers of the Soviet revisionists issued a collection of documents from the First Party Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba, held from December 17-22, 1975. The publication of this document is a great service by negative example to our study of the current situation in Cuba. The MLOC encourages revolutionary and progressive people to carefully study its contents, in order to clearly grasp the development, present situation and direction that Cuba is now taking.

These documents reveal that this was the first party congress in Cuba - some 17 years after the seizure of state power. For the first time since the seizure of state power in 1959, a party program was discussed and constitution presented. Up till this time Cuba had been without a recognized constitution, let alone a functioning state council or leg-

islature. It was not until 1965 that the central committee and political bureau of the party was constituted - some 7 years after the seizure of state power. In portraying Marxism, the Cubans omit any reference to either Comrade Stalin or Comrade Mao Tse-tung. Recently, the Cuban military has abolished its peoples army and re-instigated uniforms demarcated by rank.

The stand, viewpoint and method that Cuba pursues internationally and domestically resembles in no way Marxism-Leninism or proletarian internationalism. Cuba, in short, has become a major revisionist stronghold in the Caribbean, an outpost for Soviet social-imperialism, a base for Soviet military contention with U.S. imperialism against the masses of North and South America.

In the past, it has been a serious mistake to underestimate or even ignore the

reality of Cuba. Cuba has exercised a significant influence on the course of the U.S. left in this country, and is today directly involved in promoting "peaceful transition to socialism" in the U.S. through such organizations as the revisionist Venceramos Brigade, its many offshoots, and in alliance with the CPUSA. The role that Cuba projects for itself in Latin America and Africa must not be under-estimated. Cuba is a member of the Soviet Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and is highly integrated with and dependent upon the Soviet economy.

The excerpts presented here from the First Cuban Party Congress are no substitute for a thorough study of Cuba - which we encourage all friends and comrades to undertake. In addition, comrades should study the brief presentation on pp. 12-13 of UNITE' regarding the Cuban economic dependence on the Soviet Union.

## INTERNATIONALLY: PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

In recent years, the most distinctive feature of this transition has been the lessening of international tension. Without taking into consideration this feature, it would be impossible to understand the changes going forward in our own continental region.

Our Party has clearly shown its interpretation of the content and origin of the detente at the moment in which important documents concerning the relations between the USSR and the United States on nuclear disarmament and arms cuts have been signed, during the visit of the CPSU General Secretary, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, to the United States in 1973.

We then determined that detente was the result of a long struggle in which the principles established by Lenin since the founding of the First Socialist State concerning the possibility and advantage of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems had forged their way in face of the stiff resistance of the most reactionary elements of imperialism. It was the result of the economic, political and military victories of the Soviet Union and the socialist community, of the growing strength of the USSR and other socialist states, and of the progressive weakening of imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, which has been hit by the general crisis of capitalism and by the recent international economic crisis.

Since the beginning of the Civil War in Lebanon, there has been much confusion regarding the character of the war, its significance both to the Lebanese people and to the situation in the Middle East as well as the role that the two Superpowers have played in the conflict.

The war which has been called a "religious war" by the capitalist media is in fact, a class war between the revolutionary classes led by a coalition of patriotic and freedom-loving forces and the reactionary classes of big capitalists, merchants and land owners led by the fascist Phalangist party. The goal of the revolutionary war is the overthrow of the reactionary Franghia regime. The oppressor of the Lebanese masses and suppressor of the Palestinian resistance.

But this war does not only concern Lebanon but rather the whole Middle East because of its importance to the Palestinian liberation struggle. The Palestinian liberation movement, which has suffered suppression by the fascist Zionist settler regime has also suffered betrayal and manipulation by the wavering and reactionary national leaders of the Arab states. The Lebanese regime has been par-

ticularly guilty of suppressing the Palestinian liberation movement in Lebanon.

The victory of the democratic classes would have a profound effect on the "base area" for the Palestinian revolution to launch a successful struggle against the Zionist state. It would completely undermine the U.S.-Soviet proposal for a Palestinian "mini-state".

Because the victory of the revolution in Lebanon would undermine "detente" in the Middle East, both the U.S. and the Soviet Union have materially and politically sponsored the Syrian invasion of Lebanon for the purpose of suppressing the democratic revolutionary forces.

While the role of the U.S. in the Middle East has been fairly well exposed, the role of the Soviet Union has remained unclear.

In a June 3rd conference in Damascus with Syrian leaders, Alexei Kosygin clarified what the Soviet role really was.

Kosygin joined with Syrian leaders in expressing joint concern over the situation in Lebanon. They called the sit-

## THE PARTY: BOURGEOIS PARTY OF OLD TYPE

The Party is the synthesis of everything. Within it, the visions of all the revolutionaries in our history are synthesized within it the ideas, principles and strength of the Revolution assume concrete form, within it our individualism disappears and we learn to think in terms of the collective, it is our educator, our teacher, our leader and our vigilant conscience, when we ourselves are incapable of detecting our errors, our defects and our limitations, within it we are closely knit together, and between us we shape every one of us into a Spartan soldier of the fairest of the causes, all of us together forming an invincible giant, within it the ideas, the experiences, the behests of the martyrs, the continuity of the work, the interests of the people, the future of the Homeland, and the indestructible ties with the proletarian builders of a new world all over the world are guaranteed.

For years the Party's activities had been conducted by the Secretariat of Organization. The Political Bureau actually functioned as the Party's highest authority, but in practice the Central Committee did not exercise its functions. In addition to this, the Bureau - composed of comrades who were in charge of many State functions - considered the most important political questions, but no strictly systematic work was done in the Direction of the Party and the State.

## THE STATE: BOURGEOIS APPARATUS UNCHANGED

Our Revolutionary State has had a provisional structure for many years. The Revolution did not hasten to establish any definitive State forms in our country. It was not a matter of mere expediency, but of creating solid, lasting and thoroughly considered institutions that would meet the country's realities. But this provisional status has already lasted too long, and the time has come to put an end to it. The process has enough maturity and experience to undertake this task and to accomplish it thoroughly. Besides, it is a necessity that cannot be put off, a historic and moral duty of this generation of revolutionaries.

In the past few years above all, the tasks aimed to strengthen socialist legality have been further "and steadily promoted. Valuable revolutionary legislation has been drafted, discussed and approved, such as the Law on the Organization of the Judicial System, the Law on the Penal Procedure, and the Law on the Civil and Administrative Procedure, and the Family Code.

The adoption of the Constitution assumes outstanding political, institutional and juridical importance. It will substitute for the old 1940 Fundamental Law, which has been in force up to now, with the innumerable amendments and patches arising from the continual clash between a profound revolutionary process and the formulations of a bourgeois constitution.

## CLASS WAR IN LEBANON



uation "a result of actions by the forces of imperialism and Zionism."

Syria and the U.S.S.R. agreed to "further facilitate the ending of the bloodshed, the restoration of security and peace in Lebanon and to insure Lebanon's integrity, independence and sovereignty."

The question of "imperialist" (i.e., U.S.) plotting against Lebanon was also mentioned in an address by Syrian Prime Minister Mahmoud al-Ayyoubi at a dinner in honor of the Soviet head of state. In a responding speech, Kosygin said:

"Imperialist forces provoke bloody events in Lebanon, draw into fratricidal war against Arabs and try to drive a wedge of conflicts between them and to undermine the Palestinian Resistance Movement. The Soviet Union regards as impermissible imperialist interference in Lebanon's affairs in any form whatsoever."

"We are on the side of the Lebanese forces that fight for the achievement of national unity and the preservation

of the integrity of the Lebanese Republic, for an end to the bloodshed and the settlement of the present crisis by peaceful means in accordance with the vital interests of the Lebanese people."

(People's World, June 12, 1976)

It is evident from this joint communique by the U.S.S.R. and Syria that the U.S.S.R. opposes the view that the Syrian invasion is a result of U.S. influence, as well as its own, and insists that Syrian actions (as the Syrians themselves claim) are aimed at the restoration of "national unity" and the "preservation of the integrity of the Lebanese Republic", i.e. the no peace-no war situation in Lebanon and throughout the Middle-East which has benefitted the U.S. and U.S.S.R. so much in their jockeying for hegemony.

Today, the tasks of the working class in this country are to support the just struggle of the Lebanese people for democracy and freedom and the just struggle of the Palestinian people for national liberation. We must denounce the Syrian invasion and all outside interference and we must expose and denounce the U.S. and Soviet attempts to crush the revolutionary struggle.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE LEBANESE PEOPLE IS OUR STRUGGLE!  
VICTORY TO THE PALESTINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT!



## CPUSA- REVISIONIST STRONGHOLD IN U.S.

Since 1944, the CPUSA has been a fascist agent of the bourgeois dictatorship in this country. On every major question of national and international significance, they have aligned themselves with the interests of monopoly capitalism, with imperialism.

Today, the CPUSA stands with one foot on the side of the U.S. monopoly capitalists and the other foot on the side of Soviet social imperialism. The CPUSA is one of the loudest and most reactionary defenders of Soviet social imperialism in the world. At every turn, such counter-revolutionary agents as Gus Hall seek to prettify Soviet social imperialism, to hide the Soviet fascist dictatorship from the truth of reality, to cloak the aggression and counter-revolution of Soviet social-imperialism in the cover of "socialism" and "homeland of Lenin".

It is the CPUSA who is one of the most vicious wolves in the bourgeois pack attacking the Peoples' Republic of China and the Peoples' Republic of Albania. In particular, they single out Comrade Mao Tsetung, who has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, as their arch

enemy. On this count, they are definitely correct. But we will never tolerate their slanders and distortions. History will not absolve the CPUSA, it will bury it.

While daily they build their own coffin, we must drive in the nails. We must actively oppose the CPUSA in every factory, every community, every school, every street corner in this country. They must be opposed and exposed, driven out of the midst of the working class once and for all. Without accomplishing this task, there can be no possibility of seizing state power, for they are a vital social prop in the working class of the bourgeoisie itself.

The address of Gus Hall to the 25th Congress of the Soviet revisionists perfectly reveals the stand of imperialism which guides the CPUSA. We encourage all comrades and friends to study this statement, to consider its implications. In future issues of UNITE, we will henceforth regularly take up the task of exposing and opposing this bourgeois presence in the working class.

### GUS HALL

ADDRESS TO 25th CPSU CONGRESS  
made on March 1, 1976

Comrade delegates and guests:

This 25th Congress of the Party of Lenin is another landmark, a guidepost on the revolutionary path of transition to socialism and to the fulfillment of human society's highest aspirations—a Communist society.

The concepts of proletarian internationalism and the class struggle have always been its guiding points of reference. With great skill and persistence the CPSU fights for peace, for detente and for the application of the policies of peaceful coexistence, but with the same persistence it rejects any and all opportunistic accommodations to imperialism.

The new proposals for peace in Comrade Brezhnev's report are a challenge to world capitalist leaders. Because the Communist Party of the Soviet Union never permits consideration of momentary gains to erode the pillar of the class principles, it consistently finds the elements of unity between its national and international responsibilities.

The daily comparison studies and the great mass awareness of the divergent paths followed by the two world socio-economic systems has emerged as a decisive factor in the political and ideological arenas of struggle.

Increasingly, socialism is viewed by the masses as the standard of achievement against which all social progress—or lack of it—is measured. It is this shift in the mass patterns of thought that explains the new hysterical note, the new low of falsehoods in bourgeois anti-socialist propaganda.

In our times, the main ideological pressures of imperialism are in relationship to the socialist world and against the Soviet Union in the first place.

Because capitalism increasingly comes out on the losing end in the comparisons of the two systems, they have to resort to more intangibles: to political vapor bubbles that appear and disappear, leaving but an odor.

Opportunism breaks through where the ideological pressures of the enemy are the greatest.

Maoism is the classic example of where the path of opportunism leads, if it goes unchecked. At the murky bottom of the swamp of opportunism there is counterrevolution. Maoism has reached to that bottom.

The CIA-U.S. corporate and Maoist alliance in support of the fascist butchers in Chile is counterrevolution.

The Maoist-CIA and the racist South African conspiracy against the people and government of Angola is counterrevolution.

The Maoist vile slander campaign against world socialism is counterrevolutionary.

There are problems and there are momentary setbacks, but by any yardstick the central fact, the hard core reality of this epoch, is the continuing victorious flow of the world revolutionary process and the growing power and the unity of forces that propel it.

So, dear comrades and delegates, accept our heartiest congratulations, our warm greetings and our best wishes for new and greater victories in your pioneering work in the building of Communist society.

## FASCIST GANDHI REGIME

In the early morning hours of June 26, one year ago, the fascist Gandhi regime in India swept through the streets in a series of massive arrests and imposed a national "state of emergency" on the sham pretext that the state was "threatened".



died of cholera. Famine, epidemics, "natural" disaster are always present, all a direct result of the dictatorial rule of the Gandhi government, the "non-violent" regime of her father, and the increasing exploitation of the Indian masses by Soviet social-imperialism.

The result is widespread oppression and repression. Recently, 250,000 inhabitants of Delhi suburbs were evicted by the military forces.

Refusal to leave their homes was met by fire, shooting, beatings and torture. There are some 100,000 political prisoners at least. While millions die of starvation, the fascist Gandhi regime recently approved a record military budget of 25 billion and 4 hundred million rupees, in order for India to carry out the hegemonic schemes of Soviet social-imperialism in the Asian sub-continent, and Indian Ocean.

Across the U.S., demonstrations are being held to protest the June 26th emergency measures. We call upon all progressive and democratic people in the U.S. to support these demonstrations, to protest the fascist Gandhi regime, to protest the growing Soviet involvement in the Asian sub-continent and the Indian Ocean and to support the just cause of the Indian masses.

What was at stake, of course, was the widespread opposition of the Indian masses to both the reactionary Gandhi regime and the neo-colonial status India has assumed under the penetration of Soviet social-imperialism.

Gandhi has always defended the interests of the big landlord class and big bourgeoisie. In India today 385 million people live on less than 20 cents a day, and over 50 million are unemployed. Last year alone, 2.4 million died of malaria and over 2 million

## KOREAN REUNIFICATION

June 27th is the 26th anniversary of the Korean Fatherland Liberation War. Twenty-six years ago, the U.S. imperialists launched a war of aggression against the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea and the entire Korean people. The U.S. invading army temporarily invaded parts of the Korean peninsula. Enormous destruction and terror was brought to bear against the Korean people. But, the Korean people persevered under the leadership of the Korean Workers Party and Comrade Kim Il Sung. They scored a great victory against U.S. imperialism of historic significance.

Since the Korean people successfully drove the U.S. imperialists out of north Korea, the DPRK adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and pursued the path of socialist construction and self-reliance, under the guidance of the historic JUCHE (self-reliance) concept of Comrade Kim Il Sung. Today the socialist construction of the DPRK is a model to the people of the entire Third World.

During this period the DPRK has consistently pursued a policy toward the independent peace reunification of Korea, to drive the U.S. imperialists



out of the Korean peninsula once and for all. The completely reactionary Pak regime would not last five minutes without the aid of U.S. imperialism.

All progressive and democratic people in the U.S. must call for the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. and U.N. military, economic and political presence from Korea.

THE INDEPENDENT PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF KOREA IS CERTAIN!



# OPEN LETTER to the GUARDIAN

On March 27, 1976, the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination (CASD), sponsored a forum in Oakland California, at which it advanced a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in Angola. The *Guardian*, which holds the opposing, and opportunist, viewpoint on this question, reported a distorted and slanderous account of this event. All coalition members agreed to publish the following letter in response to the *Guardian*'s charges.

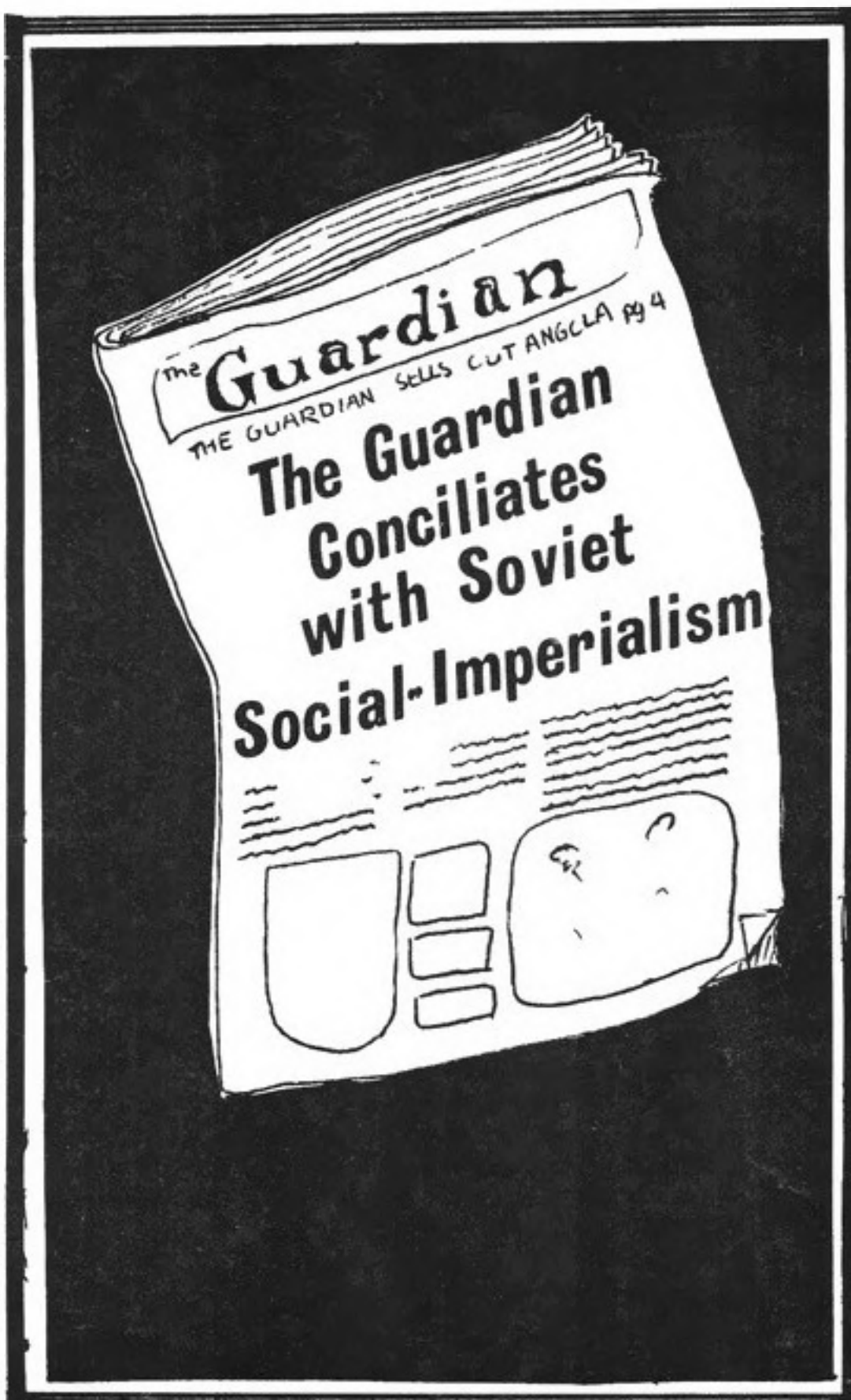
★★★★★

The *Guardian* covered the March 27, 1976 forum sponsored by the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination in the SF Bay Area. The *Guardian* article (entitled "Bay Forum Alleges Soviet Cuban Aggression," 4/7/76, page 15) was filled with distortions and outright lies, which only serve to cover over the real differences between the *Guardian* and our coalition around line and stand on Angola, and in particular over the role of the Soviet Union in the world today. We unanimously agreed that a rebuttal was necessary, and submit this letter to correct the *Guardian*'s lies and distortions and to clarify the essence of our differences with the *Guardian*.

First, we would like to briefly review some of the concrete errors that the *Guardian* article makes in its efforts to discredit the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination and its line. In its estimate of the number of people in the audience, the *Guardian* cites 400 with 1/4 being against the line of the coalition. In actuality, there were 800 people there, with only a small minority of Trotskyite, revisionist, centrists and otherwise unfriendly forces present.

The *Guardian* also stated that only 6 organizations sponsored the program, rather than the actual 15 organizations plus individuals who made up the coalition. In fact, nearly every anti revisionist organization in the Bay Area and a significant sector of the anti-revisionist revolutionary movement in the United States today participated in the coalition. The *Guardian*'s article was obviously an attempt to downplay the significance, the unity, and the impact of the Coalition for Angolan Self-Determination, which holds as its two principles of unity: 1) Superpowers (U.S. and Soviet Union) out of Angola, and 2) Self-Determination for the Angolan People.

The *Guardian* also distorted the line of the program, attempting to give the impression that the Coalition only opposed one superpower, the Soviet Union. The *Guardian* called the Coalition's line a "class collaborationist line" with the U.S. ruling class. This is an outright distortion of our line which holds both superpowers as the main enemy of the people of the world and the people of Angola in particular. We oppose both the U.S. and the Soviet Union. It is the *Guardian* that uses such arguments to cover up their own line on the Soviet Union which fails to recognize their objective role in inciting the civil war in Angola and sees only one superpower. To give further evidence to their distorted assessment of the program, the *Guardian* lied about the ALSC Cultural Collective's skit and the audience response in order to give the impression that any mention of opposing U.S. imperialism was met with "boos" from the coalition.



These lies and distortions were used by the *Guardian* to slander the coalition.

Why has the *Guardian* stooped so low and gone so far to discredit and slander our coalition? Because the *Guardian* has increasingly been acting as a cover for the Soviet Social Imperialists' role in Angola, and as a mouth piece for the revisionist line that the Soviet Union merely entered the war in Angola to help drive out the hated South Africans. The *Guardian* is participating in an objective attack on the leading role of the People's Republic of China, and objectively promoting the Soviet revisionists. The *Guardian* is taking this path, and their line on Angola only confirms it.

As we stated before, our two slogans and principles of unity are: 1) Superpowers out of Angola, and 2) Self-Determination for the Angolan People. Based on this, then, what do we see as the essence of our differences with the *Guardian*?

Every group in our coalition sees the Soviet Union as a Social Imperialist power, a superpower like the United States which incited the civil war among the liberation forces in Angola for its own imperialist self-interests. How did the Soviet Union do this? By concretely sabotaging the plans for a coalition government among all three liberation organizations who had actively fought against the Portuguese colonialists. By holding the MPLA above the other liberation forces, and attacking UNITA and FNLA as reactionary in order to justify their divisive stand. By dumping tons of heavy armaments and mercenaries into Angola as a time when the three liberation organizations were planning to merge their armed forces into one unified national army.

These armaments were far in excess of the tiny amount of arms that the Soviet Union gave in all the years the MPLA, UNITA and FNLA were fighting against Portugal. The Soviet Union never gave such "aid to national liberation" when the war against 500 years of Portuguese colonialism

was being waged. But when unity was being reached by the liberation groups, the Soviet Union stepped in to break it up and to further its own interests in the natural and human resources and the strategic South Atlantic location of Angola.

It is the Soviet Union and the United States — the two superpowers — who are the main enemy of the people of the world today. It is the Soviet Union which is showing itself around the world to be the rising and therefore more aggressive and dangerous of the two superpowers — for everywhere the Soviet Union seeks hegemony, it must come into fierce contention with the U.S. imperialists who have been there longer and will not give up without a fight.

In justifying the murderous aggression of the Soviet Union the revisionists throughout the world are mouthing a line that the Soviet Union was enlisting Cuban support for Angola in the spirit of "proletarian internationalism" to help the Angolan national liberation movement (the MPLA only) to fight against the South African invaders and the threat of U.S. imperialism. This is the line used to cover up the murderous aggression of the Soviet Union. This is the line that the *Guardian* objectively puts forward as well, and points out the danger of not seeing the Soviet Union for what it really is — a Social Imperialist superpower.

As for our coalition, we take a stand for justice, for an Angola for the Angolan people, for true self-determination. We have stood for the unity of all three liberation organizations — FNLA, MPLA and UNITA. Contrary to the slanders of the *Guardian*, who say that FNLA and UNITA were merely fabrications of the U.S. CIA and collaborators with South Africa, we see that all three liberation organizations fought concretely in the war against the Portuguese colonialists. We saw the coalition government which was being forged in 1975 and formalized in the Alvor, Mombassa and Nakura agreements as the way through which the three organizations could overcome their differences and the Angolan people could settle their own internal affairs without any outside intervention.

We have strongly condemned all foreign intervention. We condemn the two superpowers' hegemonistic designs and intervention in Angola. We condemn the invasion by the racist South African regime in an effort to protect its own interests in Southern Africa. We condemn the Cuban mercenaries who were brought to serve the interests of the Soviet Union, as a result of Soviet domination over the economic and political life in Cuba today. This is the only correct stand to take to ensure genuine self-determination for the Angolan people to settle their own internal affairs free from imperialist intervention.

The *Guardian*, on the other hand, objectively covers up for the Soviet Social Imperialists. The *Guardian* analysis flies in the face of reality and denies self-determination to the Angolan people by covering up the continuing and murderous intervention of the Soviet Union. The *Guardian* further counterposes the role of the People's Republic of China in supporting all three liberation forces and opposing all foreign intervention against the role of the Soviet Union who invaded Angola to "help" in the struggle against South Africa. The *Guardian* engages in the same slanders on the People's Republic of China as it does on our coalition. The *Guardian* says that to criticize the Soviet Union's role in Angola is to side with South Africa

and the U.S.

We would ask the *Guardian*, then, what did the Soviet Union do in Angola if it did not forcibly intervene in Angolan affairs to further its own imperialist designs in Southern Africa? Did the Soviet Union and their Cuban mercenaries wage a war against the South Africans as the *Guardian* claims? No, they did not. The Soviet Union waged a fierce battle against two out of three liberation organizations of the Angolan people. Contrary to Moscow's arguments, the Soviet Union intervened in Angola before South Africa invaded on October 23, 1975. By January, 1975, at the time of landmark agreements to form a coalition government among the three liberation forces, the Soviet Union was already sending 100 Soviet military advisors into Angola. By March, 1975, the heavy armaments followed. By September, the Soviet Union brought large groups of Cuban mercenary troops into northern Angola. From September 25 to October 23, 1975, the Soviet Social Imperialists sent five shiploads of weapons and over 2,400 mercenaries into Angola. Therefore, if South Africa did not invade until October 23, 1975, then who did the Soviet Union fight against with all those weapons and all those troops? The Soviet Union fought first against FNLA and then against UNITA. Over 150,000 Angolan people have died as a result of the Soviet incited civil war. And yet the Soviet Union never engaged in battle against the South African invaders. They merely used the South African invasion as a rationalization for their own invasion of Angola. After the South African invasion, the Soviet Union simply made their intervention more overt, less secret, and fanned up the line that they were protecting Angola from South Africa.

We would ask the *Guardian*, what will the Soviet Union do after the South African racists' troop withdrawal? Will they peacefully withdraw to leave Angola to determine its own future? Of course not. Unlike the claims of the *Guardian*, imperialism is not just a policy followed at times by the Soviet Union. It is part and parcel of the monopoly capitalist system which has been restored in the Soviet Union. Therefore, the Soviet Union is not a socialist country, but a social imperialist country which has already spent several hundreds of millions of dollars in its intervention in Angola thus far, and expects even greater returns. The Soviet Union will not abandon its imperialist interests in Angola. But, as the People's Republic of China has pointed out, the going will be tough for the Soviet Union and all imperialists. The Angolan people will not stand for their intervention.

It is this treachery of the Soviet Union that the *Guardian* insists on covering over and apologizing for. Yet the *Guardian* claims to be "independent." Independent of what? The *Guardian* is independent of genuine proletarian internationalism, but it is certainly not independent of the arguments of the revisionists — the Soviet Union and the "C" PUSA themselves. The *Guardian* position on Angola is the clearest example to date of the incorrectness and danger of the *Guardian*'s line and role as a cover for Soviet Social Imperialism and modern revisionism. The *Guardian*'s distortion of the coalition's event is further evidence of their bankruptcy.

**SUPERPOWERS OUT OF ANGOLA  
SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE ANGOLAN PEOPLE!**



*The importance of the Woman Question must be deeply grasped by Marxist-Leninists. It is an integral part of the overall strategy and tactics which must be developed to deal with the growing offensive of the bourgeoisie. The success of the revolution depends upon the participation of women.*

*The masses of women are in need of a strong and correct political line to reveal the nature of their exploitation and oppression and to guide them in their struggle.*



# The WOMAN QUESTION

**T**he women's movement in the United States is presently dominated by bourgeois ideology. The main responsibility for its bourgeois character is the failure of Marxist-Leninists to give leadership to the women's movement.

In the communist movement historically, there has been vacillation as to the very importance of the woman question. This is expressed by the failure to take up the struggle, develop theoretical clarity and political line adequate to the needs of the revolution. There should be no question but that this amounts to a bourgeois and opportunist stand.

In this light, it is of special importance to take a good look at the positions that have been presented this year on International Women's Day. The positions we analyze are far from identical, but there is an underlying and decisive aspect common to them all. It is their failure to approach the Woman Question with the stand, viewpoint and method of dialectical and historical materialism.

There are two main types of errors. One is the idealist approach which fails to see the source of women's exploitation and oppression in class society. Instead, it blames other women or men, male chauvinism or other ideological sources.

The other error is philosophically based in vulgar materialism. It fails to analyze women's exploitation and oppression in its all-round and historical development, necessarily makes errors, and then must resort to idealism to justify them. This is the same error that provides the basis for the revisionist position of the CPUSA, which has dominated the communist and women's movements for over 30 years.

The current positions of the communist movement are no exception. The same error is made in the stand, viewpoint and method, and essentially the same revisionist line is the result, whether from an idealist or vulgar materialist starting point.

## CPUSA ON THE WOMAN QUESTION

The CPUSA's line on the Woman Question historically has been a revisionist line. It was officially put forward by the party in *THE COMMUNIST* in 1941, and later came out in a pamphlet, *MARXISM AND THE WOMAN QUESTION*, in 1943. The author of this pamphlet was A. Landy, National Educational Director for the party, who played an important role in the building of Browder-Revisionism.

Landy's line was published in opposition to the book *WOMAN POWER*, by Mary Inman, which in fact, represented the Marxist-

Leninist presentation of the Woman Question. The struggle which ensued between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism within the party resulted in Mary Inman and others that upheld her line being accused of attacking the party, and of taking "the road to right opportunism." Landy's revisionist position held on as the official party position on the Woman Question.

There are two main aspects to this revisionist line.

1. After World War II and the subsequent growth of industry, women became "integrated" into industrial life. Industrialization was seen as the material basis for undermining women's inequality.

This was part of a larger picture, for Landy had already developed a revisionist position on the international situation, following the tradition of Kautsky during the First World War. Landy tried to theoretically justify the lie that the struggle against Hitlerism had transformed bourgeois democracy into a system equally as good as socialism.

In this context, there was no need to mobilize the masses of women, or anyone else, to struggle for socialism. Moreover, women now had no special problems outside being proletarians.

The finishing touch was the liquidation of the party's women's organizations and publications.

2. The other aspect of this line regards the role of women in the family. The family under capitalism is seen as a consumption unit only. It is the theory invented by Bukharin, who in 1937 had already been shot as a counter-revolutionary traitor to the Soviet government.

According to this, women's labor in the home is not productive labor. The women's production of the commodity, labor-power, is denied. The family is not seen as an "economic" or "industrial" unit of society as Engels puts forward. In fact, whatever it is that goes on in the home is not connected to production at all, except in the consumption of its products.

This is the basis for the revisionist denial of domestic slavery as a form of exploitation and oppression. Clearly, such a bankrupt analysis provides the perfect basis for liquidating the Woman Question as a question of special exploitation and oppression.

The CPUSA today upholds the same line. Their pamphlet on the Woman Question, *WOMEN ON THE JOB*, by Judy Edelman, focuses on women's oppression in the shops and trade unions. There is no analysis of women's role in the family. In their program neither imperialism or socialist revolution are mentioned. Thirty years later, the revisionist line still holds on.

Comrades, the CPUSA has proven itself a traitor to the working class many times over. While we have made a beginning break with modern revisionism on the ideological front, we have only begun to purge its influence from our midst. Revisionism on the Woman Question clearly has not been defeated. And it will continue to reappear as long as dialectical and historical materialism is not consistently applied to develop this position.

We present the following analysis of the basic approaches in the Marxist-Leninist movement in the interest of moving toward a revolutionary position on the Woman Question and consolidating the break with modern revisionism.

## THE IDEALIST APPROACH

A non-dialectical and materialist approach permeates the communist movement in the various positions taken on the exploitation and oppression of women. Beginning from an idealist approach, many of these positions present the superstructure and social relations as the basis of oppression and exploitation of women, rather than seeing these aspects as manifestations of the underlying material, economic base, that is, the fundamental roots of the Woman Question in class society. Instead ideological aspects are placed as the decisive factor in creating these conditions.

In one of their articles, the Workers' Congress presents a relatively correct position on the Woman Question. Their *RESOLUTION ON THE WOMAN QUESTION* correctly points out that the source of women's exploitation and oppression is in private property society. It correctly states that only with the abolition of the private household as an economic unit of society can we accomplish the abolition of class society. We unite with their position on the limited nature of bourgeois democracy for the masses, as put forward in the resolution.

However, there is a major weakness. This is the Workers' Congress' failure to base their analysis of the special exploitation and oppression of women as domestic slaves on the two forms of social production. This is the theoretical explanation for the differential in wages and working conditions of men and women, of the inability of women to take part in socialized production, and the role of women in the revolutionary movement. Workers' Congress correctly states that "The bondage of women is historically connected with the appearance of private property." (*THE COMMUNIST Supplement on Women*, 3/8/76, p. 2)

Private property is also the material basis of the exploitation and oppression of the working class as a whole. The question, then, is how private property determines the special exploitation and oppression of

women, which is different from that of the class as a whole.

Workers' Congress explains it this way:

"Within the monogamous family the social status of women was degraded and her role in production reduced to that of being an instrument to produce a man's legitimate heirs and a domestic slave restricted to the petty tasks of a private household economy. Based on private property the monogamous family arose as the subjection of one sex by the other, establishing a family system entirely dominated by the private property system." (*THE COMMUNIST Supplement on Women*, 3/8/76, p. 2)

While this is a basically correct analysis of the difference in the position of men and women in the rise of slavery, it does not explain the nature of women's special exploitation and oppression under the capitalist mode of production. Workers' Congress lays out that:

"In bourgeois society sex oppression in the monogamous family based on private property is the source of the social inequality of women and the second class status of working women in the labor force." (*ibid.*, p. 2)

However, because the role of women in the production of the commodity labor-power in the service of the bourgeoisie is not grasped, the Workers' Congress is reduced to trying to explain it through a mis-analogy of national oppression.

In the *STUDY GUIDE FOR RESOLUTION*, the Workers' Congress states that the role of the family places women's labor outside the realm of social production.

"The first paragraph of the Resolution shows how private property determined a family system based on the exclusion of women from social production, their restriction to the petty domestic slavery of the private household economy as the basic economic unit of society and the subjection of women to men." (*ibid.*, p. 3)

By this logic, Workers' Congress places private household economy outside social production and, therefore, relegates the family to being a consumption unit only. They have reached Landy's position on the family by a different path, because they have failed to analyze the role of women in the family as domestic slaves in the service of capital. That is, they have failed to see women's labor as a necessary part of the capitalist mode of production.

Women in the working class are responsible for the production and maintenance of the commodity labor-power.

"The labor of the woman in the home to maintain and reproduce the laborer and future laborers is a service to the



capitalist, unless we say that this particular form of labor is exempt from the laws of Marxist political economy " (Communist Line #6, DRAFT THESES ON THE WOMAN QUESTION, p 2)

"The cost of production of simple labour-power must include the cost of propagation, by means of which the race of workers is enabled to multiply itself, and to replace worn-out workers with new ones. Thus, the cost of production of simple labour-power amounts to the cost of existence and propagation of the worker. The price of this cost of existence and propagation constitutes wages. The wages thus determined are called the *minimum of wages*. This minimum wage, like the determination of the price of commodities in general by cost of production, does not hold good for the single individual, but only for the race. Individual workers, indeed, millions of workers, do not receive enough to be able to exist and to propagate themselves; but the wages of the whole working class adjust themselves, within the limits of their fluctuations, to this minimum." (Marx, Karl, WAGE-LABOUR AND CAPITAL, Intl. Publ. 1933, pp. 26-7)

What must be understood is that this is a relationship which takes place within the proletariat on a social scale. It is differentiated from socialized production by the fact that it is carried out in the individual family household.

By failing to analyze the role of domestic slavery under capitalism, the Workers' Congress is unable to explain why domestic servitude and male supremacy become "untenable" under socialism, or why the petty individual household economy must be transformed into socialized production.

Further, comrades from the Workers' Congress present a compilation of statistics and data on women in the U.S. work force, but fail to make a political point because they supply no analysis of it. In addition, they point out that "discrimination against women by banks, loan and credit companies, etc. is being attacked, as is the exclusion of women from professions and the skilled trades." (Women Workers and Fight for Equality, THE COMMUNIST, 3/8/76, p. 1)

Marxist-Leninists take up the struggle for the partial demands of the working class or any sector of it, which objectively contain within them the essence of a genuine struggle for democratic rights, that is, demands which are undoubtedly favorable to the interests of the revolutionary struggle by increasing the fighting capacity of the proletarian movement and which will be linked up with the demands carried out after the seizure of state power. Mass support for demands which are objectively against the interests of the masses cannot change their counterrevolutionary nature. The contradiction in Workers' Congress' position is that abstractly in their Resolutions they present a relatively correct line on democratic rights, and yet fail to apply this position in their presentation of the demands which flow from the objective conditions of women.

Comrades, communists do not

encourage the masses of women to simply struggle for a bigger bite of the capitalist pie. The motion of the petty bourgeois women's movement has been directed precisely toward these sort of struggles. And logically so. The class interest of the feminist movement is petty bourgeois, not proletarian.

Such struggles are a sham, and a smokescreen over the real injustices that working class women suffer.

#### THE WOMAN QUESTION AS A CLASS QUESTION

The basis of women's exploitation and oppression is class society. The material exploitation and oppression of women began with the emergence of private property and arose simultaneously with the development of class society. With each surpassing of previous modes of production, the position of women was not overthrown, but rather had the additional needs of each new society, slave, feudal and now capitalist, placed upon the existing burden of domestic slavery, which had arisen with the supremacy of the man over the woman. Thus, today women's position of double exploitation and oppression is precisely because each new mode of production only added to women's enslavement and did not fundamentally alter their position. (See Communist Line, #6, p. 3).

Not grasping this fundamental distinction will lead to the inability to carry out the defeat of the bourgeoisie under socialism. The class struggle which is carried out under socialism is between the proletariat who is in power and the bourgeoisie who is defeated yet many times more persistent in its struggle to regain the domination of society.

Lenin pointed out:

"The dictatorship of the proletariat is not the end of class struggle but its continuation in new forms. The dictatorship of the proletariat is class struggle waged by a proletariat that is victorious and has taken political power into its hands against a bourgeoisie that has been defeated but not destroyed, a bourgeoisie that has not vanished, not ceased to offer resistance, but that has intensified its resistance." (Forward to the published speech "Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality," ICW, vol 29, pp. 380-81)

One basis for the re-emergence of capitalism under socialism, as Lenin pointed out "lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly spontaneously and on a mass scale." "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM AN INFANTILE DISORDER, FLP, 1970, p 5. It is precisely the small production in the home which under socialism will be one breeding ground of capitalism and is itself in glaring contradiction with socialist relations of pro-

duction. It cannot be eliminated under capitalism, but it must be eliminated under socialism. It is in this sense that the Woman Question is most profoundly a class question for socialist revolution, and the building of communism.

The nature of women's exploitation and oppression is not limited to their exploitation and oppression as part of the working class.

"The first class antagonism which appears in history coincides with the development of the antagonism between man and woman in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression with that of the female sex by the male." (Engels, ORIGIN OF THE FAMILY, PRIVATE PROPERTY AND THE STATE, p. 66).

This means that the struggle against the exploitation and oppression of women is a struggle against the ownership of private property, a struggle against class society. Private property is the foundation of women's exploitation and oppression, not the other way around.

These various examples are not isolated or unique, but the logical expression of taking up the question from a non-proletarian stand.

#### IDEALISM IN THE WING AND THE WOMAN QUESTION

In taking up the various idealist approaches to the Woman Question, the "Revolutionary Wing" presents a remarkably shallow presentation of this question for a group which publicly consider themselves the "Leninist core" and the "quintessence of Marxism" in the communist movement. We will take up the idealist line of Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) and Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization (PRWO) individually and then their joint statement from March 8, 1976. August Twenty-Ninth Movement's (ATM) position is treated in the following section on vulgar materialism.

RWL has basically put forward two presentations of their views on the Woman Question, one in their Principles of Unity (POU), and the other in the first issue of the Bolshevik. In the POU, RWL's position on the domestic slavery of women under capitalism is that:

"This labor, of educating children, building and caring for the home are essential to capitalism. It provides the capitalist with stable family units to depend on to supply future generations of workers and maintain a stable work force." (p. 44)

So far, so good. However, by missing the implications of their own presentation of the question, RWL at the same time holds that:

"Women are often tied to and oppressed in the household, but this is not the source of the oppression of women--but a reflection of capitalist society." (p. 44)

If this is not the source of the special oppression and exploitation of women, then what is? RWL's answer is the classic petty-bourgeois feminist line that

"The dependency and subordination of women and their dependency on men is the basis for the oppression of women." (p. 44)

They then go on to elaborate the source of this condition as women's socialization into feminine roles and further state that the nature of the women's struggle is that:

"Today, women are breaking through old stereotypes and combatting their oppression in the U.S." (p. 44)

Because of their failure to correctly apply dialectical and historical materialism to the conditions of women, RWL stands squarely in the midst of a bourgeois position on the Woman Question, and in keeping consistent with this stand RWL then advances the classic petty-bourgeois view that "women have performed millions of hours of unpaid labor at home." (p. 43--)

In their second presentation of the Woman Question, in the Bolshevik, RWL basically presents a re-hash of PRWO's 1975/1976 position. RWL even goes so far as to recopy word for word, entire passages from PRWO's position (see PALANTE, vol 6, #2, pp. 3-5 and Bolshevik, pp. 74-83).

PRWO's position is objectively a step backwards from RWL's petty-bourgeois statement in their POU, as it is merely a set of moralistic phrases, offering no real analysis of the Woman Question, and is clearly the weakest "position" in the "Revolutionary Wing".

The joint position of the "Wing" is merely a compilation or merging of the positions of RWL and PRWO, with much of the correct views of RWL's earlier position neglected. In order to take up the third member of the "wing" we must take up a second deviation on the Woman Question, the deviation of vulgar materialism.

#### VULGAR MATERIALISM

The other error in the stand, viewpoint and method on the Woman Question is one of vulgar materialism; of viewing the development of a thing devoid of its full historical context. The limitations of vulgar materialism inevitably lead its exponents to make the leap to idealism in order to explain social relations.

Presently, the third member of the "Wing" is the ATM. Stating that "Women's oppression stems from the division of society into classes," (Revolutionary Cause, vol. 1, #4, p. 2), ATM gives two bases for women's exploitation and oppression which they feel to be different from that of the working class as a whole, both of which are inconsistent with Marxism-Leninism.

The first basis is laid out in the following quote:

"In their never ending drive for profit the capitalist superexploit women on the job, or force them into the reserve army of the unemployed as a cheap labor source." (ibid, p. 2)

This is starkly incorrect on at least one major point. The permanent army of unemployed is a manifestation and component part of the exploitation of the



proletariat as a whole, contributing to the absolute impoverishment of the working class. As such, it is not and cannot be the basis for the special exploitation and oppression of women, as this fact is a *manifestation* of women's existence which does not demarcate it from the exploitation of the working class. In other words, the fact that women and national minorities make up the bulk of the permanent army of unemployed is not, therefore, the *basis* of either women's or national oppression, but is, rather, a product of a more basic aspect of class society.

This inability to clarify the real basis for women's position under capitalism is also carried through in ATM's presentation of the danger of wars' effect on the position of women. ATM says

"How does this growing danger of war effect women? It concerns women and all workers who must fight, suffer and die in a new imperialist war. It means even greater exploitation on the job through speedups--covered over with patriotic slogans about wartime production. It means further cutbacks in social services like day care, hot lunch programs for school children, special skill training for women, aid for the elderly, etc." (ibid, p. 2)

This view that women are just part of the working class who are somehow uniquely exploited but in a way which is essentially no different than the working class as a whole, *except there is more of it*, is consistently applied throughout ATM's position, as the above two examples reflect. However, this is in essence the revisionist position of Landy and the CPUSA all over again.

By not grasping the essential difference of the special exploitation and oppression of women, which is different than that of the working class as a whole, ATM is led to an idealist explanation of this position, which is *the second basis* they present when they say that

"By confining them to the narrowness and drudgery of housework and childraising the bourgeoisie hopes to keep women divided from the struggle of the working class for revolution." (ibid, p. 2)

*This is essentially stating that the oppression and exploitation of women is produced by a policy of the bourgeoisie, as a method of dividing the working class.* Thus the basis of women's condition for ATM comes down to a question of *ideas*, ATM must resort to idealism to cover for their vulgar materialist presentation of their first error. They conclude, in essence, that the bourgeoisie uses male supremacy to divide the class and, from this, arise exploitation and oppression. It is not surprising, then, that the tasks of the revolutionary movement, according to ATM, are to

"break down the ideological and political barriers which keep women out of the factories." (ibid, p. 2)

The October League begins from vulgar materialism also in their pamphlet, *WOMEN'S LIBERATION A COMMUNIST VIEW*. They present women's oppression as a product of the first accumulation of wealth and private property during slavery. They discuss the defeat of mother-right,

attributing it to the need for protection and inheritance-rights of private property "according to male descent." However, they do not connect it with the division of labor in society or the material basis of male supremacy.

The OL first fails to define the division of labor in the rise of class society, i.e. slavery - of women as domestic slaves, relegated to house hold and child-bearing, and men as the owners of the means of production. This then leads them to being unable to

trace the role of women in the family through the different modes of production. They do not see women as having been subjected to material exploitation prior to capitalism. Instead,

"It is important to recognize that the source of women's oppression lies in the material exploitation of women under capitalism." (October League, *WOMEN'S LIBERATION A COMMUNIST VIEW*, p. 7)

Again, this is the same position put forward by Landy in 1941. It means that women's position as a domestic slave throughout all phases of class society is not considered exploitation. The sum total of women's exploitation and oppression is seen only in their position as part of the proletariat.

It denies the role of women in the family as producers of the commodity labor-power which workers sell to the capitalists and producers of children destined to become proletarians, thereby supplying more labor-power to the capitalists. The theory of unpaid labor in the home flows from this by its failure to see the working class family as a unit, each member with a task defined by the needs of the ruling class. The essence of it is to deny that women's labor in the home is productive, that it is an integral part of the mode of production, and that it is subject to exploitation by the ruling class.

"Much of the wealth of the Rockefellers, Morgans, and other ruling class families in the U.S. has been derived from the exploitation of women's labor in the factories and mills. It is this imperialist class which has benefited from women's unpaid labor in the home and the imperialists have filled the textbooks, literature and media full of their propaganda preaching the 'inferiority' of women." (ibid, p. 3)

As we stated in *Communist Line #6* (p. 2),

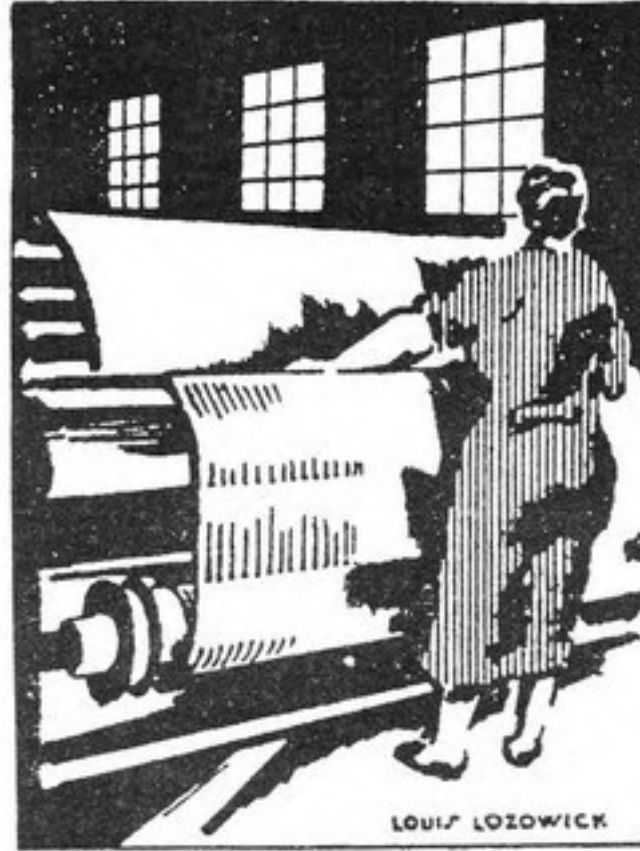
"We must reject the backward and petty-bourgeois notion that women's work in the home is unpaid labor. Again, this is to say that this work is divorced from production and that women are, therefore, not exploited by capitalism."

These presentations of women's position in capitalist society, being without analytical content, confusing the different forms of exploitation and oppression, or outright misrepresenting concrete reality, cannot provide a strong base of support for revolutionary women's struggle.

The result of this is to cut

the Woman Question away from its historical context, and as a result, from its full character under imperialism. It does not provide the basis for understanding the role of women in struggling for the party, for socialist revolution, and the dictatorship of the proletariat. Where is the basis for linking the women's movement to the struggle of the working class as a whole? What is it

about the exploitation and oppression of working women that make them enemies of imperialism and objectively revolutionary? How is the emancipation of women from the private house hold linked to the final destruction of class society?



These questions cannot be answered on the basis of a non-dialectical and historical materialist method and viewpoint.

*The basic error of the various positions was the failure to take up the Woman Question with a proletarian stand, viewpoint and method. This means looking at the actual political, economic and social conditions of women and their basis in the developing mode of production. It means investigating the Woman Question in its full historical context, and in its relationship to other questions.*

Clearly, for the demands of women to be revolutionary, they must be tied to the question of state power, to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The reconstitution of a genuine Marxist-Leninist party to guide the masses in proletarian revolution demands the mobilization of women through the development of a correct political line on the Woman Question.

## CONCLUSION

Comrades and friends, we have presented our analysis of various lines on the Woman Question in the spirit of developing a position capable of serving the needs of the women's and communist movements. A scientific and revolutionary position on the Woman Question will be developed through discussion, criticism, self-criticism, thorough investigation of the historical and present conditions of women, and participation in the day to day struggles of the women's movement. Through such discussion and struggle a granite theoretical foundation for a correct political line will be laid, and a step taken toward the development of a party program. This process is a fundamental part of the tasks of building Marxist-Leninist unity, and of uniting Marxism-Leninism with the advanced, toward the reconstitution of the vanguard communist party.

We have tried to carefully point out an error which is of

fundamental importance to the development of a scientific and revolutionary position on the Woman Question, and which is widespread in the U.S. communist movement. That is, the failure to take up the Woman Question with the viewpoint and method of dialectical and historical materialism. We would encourage criticism and further discussion on the points in the article, with the focus on moving ahead on this very important question.

The position of the MLOC on the Woman Question, although analyzing the current conditions of women from a dialectical and historical materialist viewpoint and method, is just a beginning in answering the needs of the women's and communist movements. There are areas of our Draft Theses (*Communist Line #6*) which are in need of strengthening and developing, such as the exploitation and oppression of women in the particular context of imperialism and the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism. Our Draft Theses, too, sometimes failed to differentiate classes of women carefully enough, and especially belittled the oppression of poor white women. A major weakness was the failure to take up the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). We recognize that this is a point of great confusion in the workers' and communist movements, which is in need of theoretical and political clarification. We are in the process of studying the lines of other Marxist-Leninist organizations, and of women's organizations. We are investigating the history of the amendment and are trying to understand what it means under the current economic and political conditions.

We plan to make a more thorough self-criticism of the Draft Theses, and to publish an article on the ERA in the near future in *UNITE*. We ask comrades and friends to put forward criticism and comments, in the spirit of developing a correct Marxist-Leninist line on the Woman Question.

The Woman Question cannot be seen as a question in itself, but rather, in the context of the entire revolutionary struggle. Political line seeks to summarize the present conditions and historical development of a given question, and to link it theoretically and practically with other questions of the communist and workers' movements. A deep analysis of the Woman Question will necessarily move forward work in trade unions, national liberation movements, and other areas of class struggle.

*The struggle for true emancipation of women is an integral part of the struggle of the working class for revolution and for the building of socialism. Complete emancipation of women is a question of the destruction of class society. At the same time the success of the revolutionary struggle depends upon full participation of women.*

*"No freedom of the people and of each individual, no progress of the country and achievement of our aims can be thought of without the complete emancipation of women."* (April 29 Statement of the Central Committee of the Party of Labor of Albania, from, *ON LIBERATION OF WOMEN IN ALBANIA*, Gamma Publ., N.Y., p. 12)





The dictatorship  
of the proletariat

you need to say that  
need to hear that  
not be scared of that  
cause thats gonna save your life  
gonna make your life life change from suffering

you hear that, the dictatorship  
of the proletariat, and be scared  
think somebody gonna hold you back  
hold you down, downer than you been held  
which aint even in it, is it not downer than we been held cause  
we been held down, like down, down and dirty we been held, way down

it shows you how powerful, how strong and cruel powerful  
these capitalists are these superbillionaire blood suckers  
cause they put words in schools, radios, newspapers, televisions  
words coming out of the heroic hero's mouth heroically the happy cop,  
the strong sensitive cop, the tall cop, the cop whose father wanted him to be a lawyer  
and he's gonna make it one day type, the cop with the hip mustache, the laughing cop,  
the hippy cop, batman and robin cops, nigger cops, negro cops, puerto rican patrolmen  
all comin at you led by our loving goodguys from swat, just the thing for the superfly  
all these herolover cops, are these the same which shoot yr little nephew in the back of the  
head while he hanging up some crepe paper for a surprise birthday party down in the basement  
where they got you living Are these the same gentle goodguy heroes who killed the little  
14 year old in bed stuy, the 12 year old in queens, the 18 year old in staten island, the  
16 year old in long branch the ones that slaughtered the 31 dudes in attica, and is that  
the same attica where bald head mel stewart be sneakin cake to the inmates & they all  
buddies grinning together and frankly happy they dont have to be out in the world  
gettin in rich peoples way?

Yet when you hear the dictatorship of the proletariat You dont know You aint sure  
You heard about hitler, and franco The daily star ledger news courier times bulletin tells you dic  
tatorship is bad All but the dictatorship bein run now, the dictatorship of the minority  
which is currently bein run, at this moment crushing yr whole self down, the one  
mashin on you right now, is frankly, well listen to buckley, sammy davis, steinem,  
woody allen, hip, newspeak for the old freak, the present "legitimate" blood bath  
incarceration of labor, truth and beauty "the dictatorship of money is good the dictatorship  
of the bourgeoisie is good the dictatorship of poverty and terror, this is good "  
Thats the lies the rulers' mouthpieces spout The cackle slobber screech of madness  
in power They preach that the absolute control of our lives by the owners of the factories,  
the absolute control of our lives by the owners of money, the absolute control over our lives  
by the owners of the land that bloody clique of fiends, their parrot mouthpieces claim is  
just But listen, we are the producers of wealth the factories land and money are created  
by the creators, the workers, the laborers in the mills, on the land, it is the people who  
must own what shd be owned What creates food and clothing and shelter for the Great  
Majority must be owned by that great majority The Workers must own what is necessary  
for the whole of society to live There is enough wealth for everybody, the world is  
literally unimaginably rich,yet the masses of people are landless paupers with nothing  
to sell but the muscle in their arms We call for the dictatorship of the producers  
The absolute control and ownership by the creators of value itself The total control  
of society by the majority, the multinational working class The proletariat in modern  
dress Who must lead the masses of us,with a revolutionary vanguard party at the helm  
guided by science, guided by the science, the science of marxism-leninism-mao tse-tung  
thought Ask us what the party taught? Marxism-Leninism-Mao tse-tung thought Speak of  
the dictatorship, until you under stand it Explain the dictatorship until you're behind it  
Fight for the dictatorship until it is reality The dictatorship of the proletariat, the  
absolute control of the state by the working class, the majority

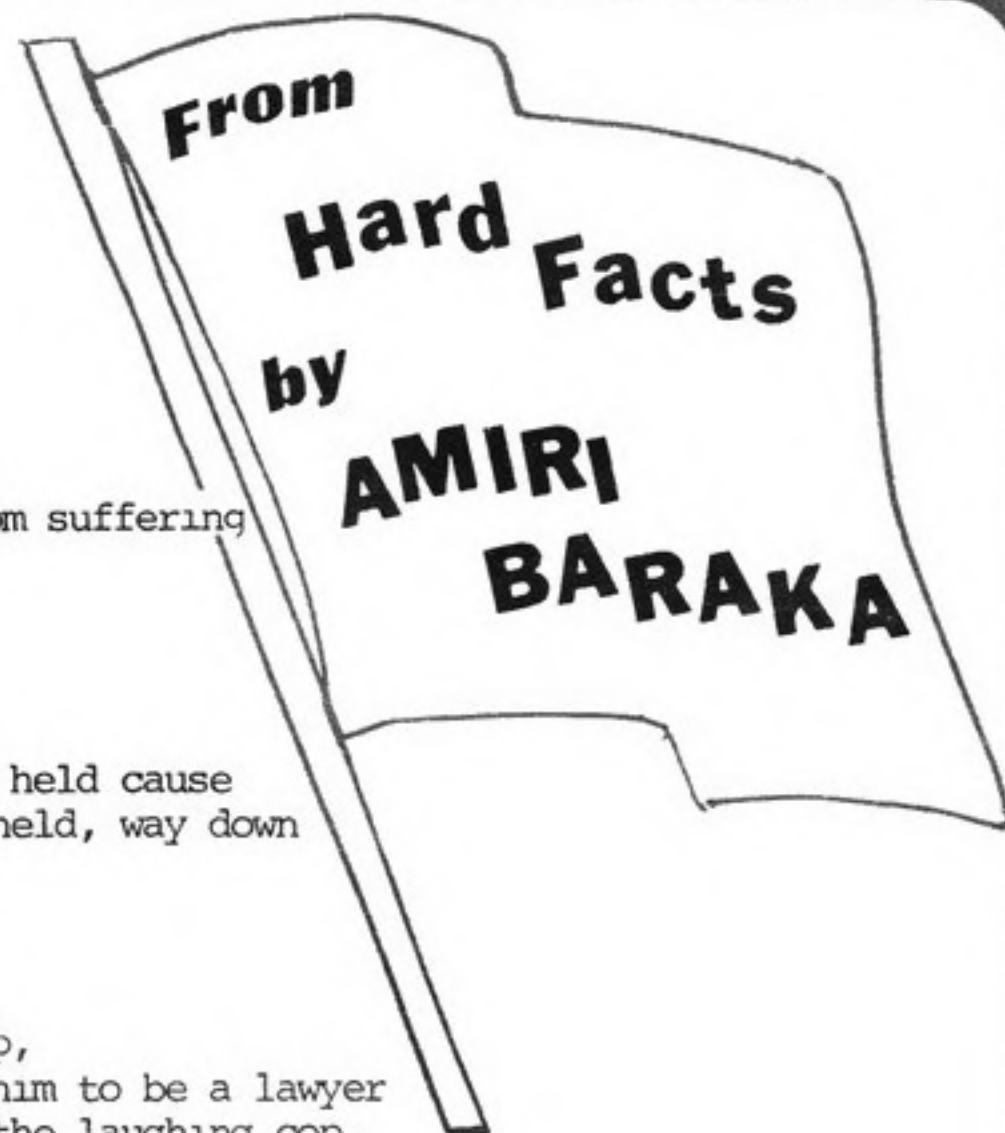
You need to say that  
You need to hear that  
not to be scared of that

the goal of our revolution is so the people can rule  
the goal of the revolution is so the people can rule  
the ultimate goal of socialist revolution is so the great majority  
of the people  
the masses  
of people  
can rule

This is the dictatorship of the proletariat  
the total domination of society by the working class

you need to hear that  
you need to talk about that  
you gonna have to fight for that

the dictatorship of the proletariat  
think about that  
the dictatorship of the proletariat



AVAILABLE SOON IN PAMPHLET FORM

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR  
AND THE  
TASKS OF COMMUNISTS

RESOLUTION OF THE SIXTH WORLD CONGRESS  
OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

64 PAGES, \$1.00

ALSO AVAILABLE

COMMUNIST LINE

THEORETICAL JOURNAL OF THE  
MARXIST-LENINIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE



P.O. BOX 26457  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. 94126  
U.S.A.